

THE HEALING GODS OF
ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS

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PHILIP HAMILTON McMILLAN
of the Class of 1894, Yale College

THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS

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Non est vivere, sed valere, vita
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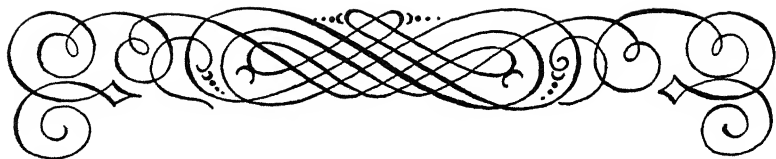
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He was born in Detroit, Michigan, December 28, 1872, prepared for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, and was graduated from Yale in the Class of 1894. As an undergraduate he was a leader in many of the college activities of his day and within a brief period of his graduation was called upon to assume heavy responsibilities in the management and direction of numerous business enterprises in Detroit where he was also a Trustee of the Young Men's Christian Association and of Grace Hospital. His untimely death, from heart disease, on October 4, 1919, deprived his city of one of its leading citizens and his University of one of its most loyal sons.



PREFACE

ALL studies of civilisation preceding the Christian era must be considered as tentative only and a subject to repeated revisions in the future. Many original documents giving first hand information regarding the political, religious and social life of the early Orient have come into our possession quite recently and a large number of them have not been critically examined or even translated while the terms and the language used in some are not understood nor has any key to their interpretation yet been found. Excavations yielding rich archeological returns are still in progress other of equal promise are projected and further important information concerning the people will undoubtedly be obtained in the near future. These remarks apply equally to the medicine of the ancients. Although sufficient is known from classical literature and from study of newly discovered archeological documents to justify general conclusion regarding the therapeutic theories and practice of the ancient East many extant medical treatises especially of Mesopotamia and Egypt have not been translated or adequately studied and may easily contain statements which will materially alter our present views.

The following volume on the ancient method of religious healing and the pagan healing gods is therefore presented as an introductory historical study. This particular phase of the religious and social life of the ancients is seldom considered independently but rather in connection with an introduction to the general history of

PREFACE

medicine as those of Neuberger and Pagel of Garri on and the essay of Osler or in papers on special aspects of the subject Careful reviews of the origins of ancient medicine as referred to by classical authors are given in the older medical histories, as those of LeClerc and Sprengel but since these were written much direct information has been obtained through archeological researches which has greatly broadened our knowledge of the healing practice in the cults of the pagan deities Some part of this new material has been considered in the several brief monographs that have been published in Germany during the past forty five years These have not been translated, the subject has received little attention from writers of English, and as yet it has not been adequately presented to the English speaking peoples for general study In preparing this work from material culled from many sources an endeavor has been made to give a more detailed and extended exposition of the subject in a form for general survey and comparison without attempting to cover the broader aspects of the early history of the healing art

The author has selected for study several of those great civilizations that preceded and overlapped the Christian era from the birth of history to the time when paganism was uprooted by the edict of Emperor Theodosius In the pre-nationalistic religion and healing had passed beyond the elementary stages of development and were more or less systematized under priesthood The civilizations had their development in an Oriental nursery and their earliest traces are found among the Indo-Iranian and the peoples of Mesopotamia and Egypt remarkable for their general learning and culture their occult science, and the supposedly ineffable mysticism of their religions Coming from various parts of the old world these several nationalities were commingled by

war and conquest and finally outgrowing their native environment they overflowed westward. Filtering through channels that are now often obscure the learning of the mysterious people of the East and their wondrous art came to Greece where they were undergoing examination when conquering Rome drew all civilizing influences to herself. The knowledge and art of the great Orient came to the Occident as a mystic but lasting heritage there to be appraised side by side with the native faith and practice of Greece and Rome, to be refined and molded under new surrounding and other influence into loftier conceptions of a new and higher civilization. The healing cult of these nations and the belief that prompted them were representative of their age and illustrate the ancient relation existing between religion and the healing art, which were continued under the Christian fathers in a more or less modified form.

The subject is approached strictly from a historical standpoint all theories and controversial matters being avoided so far as possible. Facts, traditions and myths have been gathered from archeological studies, the work of classical authors and the treatises of authoritative commentators and the subject matter of each nationality is considered independently and under two sections: the first giving a general review of the salient features of their respective religions and healing cult and the second dealing with the personalities of their deities most intimately concerned in the cure of the sick.

Owing chiefly to the imperfect and fragmentary character of the ancient records no pretense can be made to completeness especially in the lists of the healing gods. Doubtless innumerable deities who were conceived as efficient healers served their peoples and faded leaving no tangible record behind. The names of others were probably lost in the destruction following the fall of

nations and of paganism and till other now buried may be disclosed on monument and in document yet to be unearthed. In many instances the healing function of a god is vaguely referred to or the divinity appears to be of such minor importance that the name has purposely been omitted. A short biographical sketch is given of the deities whose curative acts are definitely noted and it is believed that the work of their cults as herein given is fairly characteristic of the official healing practices of their respective nationalities. The period during which the deities were active is indicated when possible but this is often so indefinite that no chronological order is feasible, and the gods are listed alphabetically.

Other kindred fields of inquiry of equal attractiveness have not been invaded. The healing deities of the post-Vedic religions of India particularly the Buddhist with its extension into Tibet, China and Japan or of the great Slavic and Teutonic races, and those of ancient America the Inca, the Mayas and the Aztecs all present interesting racial types that would well repay a more detailed study than has yet been given them.

The present work has been prepared in the odd moments of leisure from the active practice of medicine and with a full appreciation of many shortcomings the general fruitage of the studies is offered with the hope that it may have an interest for its reader and perhaps stimulate further and more satisfactory research in this by-path of early civilization.

The author desires to acknowledge with sincere appreciation the courtesies and generous assistance received from many friends during the progress of the studies without which they could not so nearly have approximated completeness. Especial thanks are due to Mr. Martha L. Crook for her active interest and cooperation and for her researches and translations from the Ger-

man to the late Professor Morris Jastrow Jr for reviewing the manuscript of the chapter on Babylonia and Assyria to Professor Henry F Lutz of the University of California and T George Allen of the University of Chicago for their comment on the Egyptian chapter to Lieutenant Colonel Fielding H Garrison USA for his interest encouragement and advice after reading the early draft of the manuscript and finally to Professor Louis H Gray of the University of Nebraska for his constant advice and many valuable suggestion



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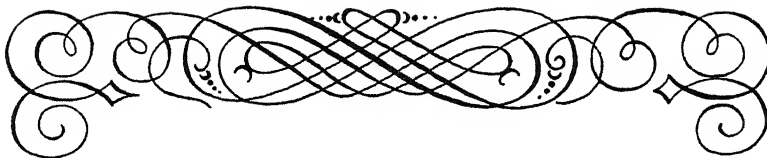
Deities of which little is known Abnoba Addu Arduinn
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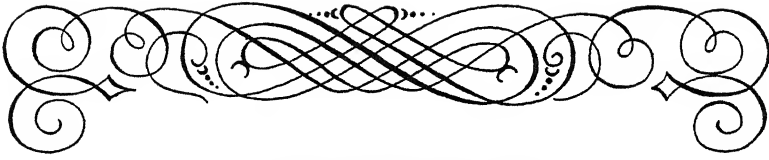
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INTRODUCTION

IT is a matter of common knowledge that from the dawn of history the healing art has been more or less intimately connected with religion. During antiquity the bonds uniting them were inseparable and for many centuries medicine was an integral part of religion. On the free soil of Hellas however restrained by no binding religious traditions and by no hierarchy experience with the remedies of folklore and critical observations of disease permitted by an unfettered personal judgment backed by liberal speculative constructive thought developed under Hippocratic influence a scientific spirit ethical ideals, and a definite line of cleavage. The healing art free for the first time from sacerdotal surveillance directed by an organized priesthood began to be studied on its merit both within and without the temple. The scientific method the germ of all future progress was then introduced and theories were put to the test. The breach with religion once created widened slowly as medicine was independently studied by an ever increasing number of enthusiastic disciples with honest purpose and open analytical mind. Thereafter medicine never ceased to assert its right to its own development but religion always concerned with human destiny physical and spiritual though relaxing its hold continued to retain a powerful influence over the healing art and too often restricted efforts looking to advancement. Notwithstanding persistent struggles for intellectual freedom it was not until the nineteenth century that medicine with

other science gained sufficient headway to break loose from ancient authority and tradition and to find opportunities for unprejudiced investigation experiment and adoption of new principles During the succeeding years medicine has entrenched itself behind numerous demonstration of newly discovered fact and it has finally been accorded a high place among the sciences although retaining many of its time honored characteristics as an art

Throughout the history of human progress from the primitive state to the higher intellectual level the race has shown a strong conservatism of opinion an ever constant tendency to cling to old beliefs and customs while tentatively accepting newer conceptions prompted by a broader better knowledge of the workings of nature laws upon which advances in civilization have been based Mankind instinctively is dependent upon the Supreme Power for life and all benefits, and it is not a matter for surprise that many in our communities, rejecting modern professional ideas of disease its causes and its treatment prefer to rely as did the people of old upon divinity for the preservation of health and for relief from all physical ills The prevalence of this faith side by side with new thought and the many variant forms of mental healing resulting from modern psychological studies excite a very special interest in the types of belief of those ancient people who exercised the religious healing function and suggest a historical study of these beliefs and the methods employed in such healing by the representative of the pagan religions of the pre-Christian era without however, any attempt to appraise the relative values of divine mental and material healing practices

In the following studies the early types of ancient and primitive healing are considered only as they pertain to

the spiritual beliefs of the people. Views and opinions of compiler have been avoided unless based upon original or sound collateral evidence and an endeavor has been made to cite original author and document a authority whenever possible.

At the outset it should be noted that one of the most important features of the early history of medicine is the essential uniformity in principle of belief prompted by the human religious instinct as they relate to the healing customs of people widely separated by space and time differing only in details of racial and national coloring. All comparative studies support the assumption that prehistoric man did not differ materially from the savage as observed in the modern world and in this fact is found the explanation of the identity of all forms of ancient and primitive medicine and the unity of folklore. Garrison in his recent work¹ forcibly summarizes these conclusions in the following words:

One of the best accredited doctrine of recent times is that of the unity or solidarity of folklore. The collective investigation of historic ethnologist, archeologist, philologists and sociologists reveal the singular fact that all phases of social anthropology which have to do with instinctive action inevitably converge to a common point of similarity or identity. This is true of all myth, superstition, law and social custom of primitive people (as also of the cruder ethnic aspects of religion) which are concerned with the fundamental instinct of self preservation and reproduction. It is possible as we shall see that many strange cultural practices such as mummification, circumcision or the couvade may have been deliberately transported by migration from one continent or island and imposed upon another (Elliot Smith). But the fact remains that, for the human action which have been defined as instinctive and based upon the innate necessity which is the mother of invention, folklore is essentially

¹ *A. Introduction to the History of Medicine*, 3d ed. 1921, p. 17

unity The mind of average man in its pathetic effort to form religious and ethical system for moral and spiritual guidance or to beautify the commoner aspect of life with romance and poetry has unconsciously taken the same line of resistance, followed the same plane of cleavage The civilized mind differs from the average mind only in respect of a higher evolutionary development Human race and racial custom have changed as they became more highly specialized The heart of man remains the same

It follows that under different aspects of place and time all phases of folk medicine and ancient medicine have been essentially alike in tendency differing only in unimportant detail In the light of anthropology, this proposition may be taken as proved Cuneiform hieroglyphic, runic, birch bark, and palm leaf inscriptions all indicate that the folkways of early medicine whether Accadian or Scandinavian Slavonic or Celtic Roman or Polyneesian have been the same in each case an affair of charms and spells plant lore and psychotherapy to stave off the effects of supernatural agencies

The people of the ancient pagan world regarded all natural phenomena the causes of which were not apparent as due to unseen superhuman agencies They believed that they were surrounded by innumerable invisible spiritual beings of great variety differing widely in character, who possessed supernatural powers by which they energized all nature controlling its forces and directing its processes in their infinite detail Each had the attribute of life and many were believed to be immortal A few more highly developed in the imagination of the people were personified and received names They were conceived as in the likeness of man they had human traits were endowed with sex, and had families and their characters were a mixture of good and bad In general those who represented constructive agencies helpful to man were the good spirits while those who were destructive and harmful were, for the most part evil

spirits Then there were host of other , including the ghosts of the dead who still had power over the living whose ethical character was not clearly defined and who might be either good or bad The evil spirit greatly outnumbered the good and were ever active in attempt to accomplish malevolent design upon mankind The pirit ual being having both general power and specific functions in nature determined the collective and individual destinie of man but the powers of the good spirits and deities were as a rule superior to tho e of evil although they were unable wholly to conquer and control them Because of their ethical ch racter and uperior power the benevolent divinities were regarded a the natural protectors of mankind and the people learned to look to them for benefits in all the exigencie of life for defense against the attacks of those of evil intent and e pe cially for rescue when mi fortunes befell

The deities composing the several national pantheon were conceived in all ranks of dignity and power and for each and every function There were the great divinities of the heavens who were as ociated with the co mogony the deities of earth of vegetation, and of the underworld the tutelary gods of tribe and village , of the household the family and the guardian pirit of the individual Many gods conceived a anthropomorphic were grouped in familie or in triads of father mother and on in enneads or even in double and triple ennead Some of the divinities growing in power and importance absorbed the attributes of le ser gods who were ubor dinated or who faded and became obsole cent Other were syncretized and had many aspects, differing with time and place All were subject to the political ocial and religious vicissitude of their people , and a nation were conquered or pa sed away they were lost to memory except a few of the more important who survived in

tradition or who, adopted by victor , secured a place in the records of their respective civil ations For the most part the gods were identified with political or ocial or ganizations and only a few held a place in the true affection of the people

All the activitie of nature were emanations of the will and power of upernatural beings, usually referred to a gods Divinity was therefore believed to be omnipresent nd in its beneficence as the protector of mankind gave indications of it intent for the future course of events by omen and portent whence prognostications were of the utmost importance for guidance in all the affairs of life both public or national and per onal Correct interpretation were earnestly sought, since the success of ruler the destiny of nations and the fate of individuals depended upon the forecasts and decision of diviner Divination and prophecy standing midway between magic and religion, became important art in both national and social life, in the practice of which priest acquired great skill

Such in brief were the early fundamental beliefs that dominated the outward conduct of ancient peoples and prompted their flattering appeals to their many divinities for protection and help in need but though the official religion as interpreted by their political and religious leaders directed the attention of the populace to the beneficence of their deities the great mass of the general folk were often o imbued with fear and dread of the power of the malevolent gods and demons that they were more inclined to propitiate them than to rely on the worship of their benevolent deities

Medicine men and magicians appear as the first intermediaries with the spirit world among primitive people The kings and priests rose above the common people as higher order and king were occasionally regarded a

divinity itself so that many were deified after death. The priests representing the highest learning and culture and the instructor and intellectual leaders of their peoples were skilled in magic and occult practices and according to approved formulas served the people in their appeals to the divinitie for health happiness prosperity and relief from misfortune.

In the pagan religions appeal was made to the god by prescribed ceremonies and rituals for the welfare both of the community and of the individual. The beneficent deities were implored to exercise their superhuman divine powers alike in their general and in their special spheres of activity not only to grant favors but to restrain the powers of evil from carrying out their designs to the detriment of man while the invocations to the malevolent divinities were intended to cause them to depart to exorcise them or to appease propitiate or coerce them to cease their malignant activities and sometime to induce them to accept a substitute victim. All recourse to the spiritual force of nature was dealing with the occult based upon the belief that man by proper approach could sway or control the god according to his will and the more primitive practices ceremonies and rituals representing this faith partook of the character of magic rather than of worship in its present accepted sense which became manifest only as a religion developed to higher levels. As the ceremonial of these worship are analyzed and the elements which we recognize as magic are differentiated the manual and many of the oral rites as the gestures with the wand the formulas for exorcism the incantation, the words of power, and the command they appear as the more direct mechanical methods of approach to the spirit world but they were regarded as powerful and essential for the effective coercion and control of inanimate objects and deities even

of high rank and were believed to be potent to compel them to obey the will and commands of the magician or of the magician priest

Whether magic preceded religion as its rudimentary form in the evolutionary scale of human history or whether it was identified with its lower primitive forms has not been determined by any consensus of opinion. Magic and religion had a fundamental unity in the fact that both dealt with the occult, superhuman power of nature in an effort to control them for the benefit of man. They were therefore very nearly akin and in all the great pagan religions they were interfused and inseparable so that in the earliest magico-religious formula there appears no appreciation of any distinction between magic and religion whence it is deemed improbable that any such differences between the two as are now recognized existed for the ancients. It is asserted however that a differentiation came to be made in the Semitic religion and that it was the community and not the individual that was the recipient of the permanent and unfailing help of its deity. It was a national not a personal providence that was taught by ancient religion. So much was this the case that in purely personal concern the ancients were very apt to turn, not to the recognized religion of the family or of the State but to magical superstition. The individual was bound to act with the community not for himself alone. In Greece and Rome cults that were foreign, strange, and had no official recognition were magic heterodox, inferior and suspect and were frequently regarded as illicit and forbidden by law. Cults

For summary of the principal theories of magic, see R. R. Martt, *Magic* (Introductory), in *ERE* viii, 245-252, and magic in pagan thought Thorndike *History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era*, pp. 4 ff.

S mith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed. pp. 263 f.

of great variety however both native and foreign received recognition and in making the distinction between magic and religion the consideration does not appear to have been one of kind but to have been dependent rather upon the popularity influence and aumed usefulness of the cult to the people

With the advance of ethical conceptions magic was believed to be a bad, religion a good method of approaching the occult It was conceived that while the malevolent powers might be propitiated and inanimate objects endowed with activity by the magicians so that both might be compelled by his will the good spirit and deities occupied a sphere beyond man's control whence their favor could be obtained only by humiliation and conciliation Although confidence in magic declined and it became more and more definitely allied with black art its superstitions have shown a remarkable permanence and uniformity continuing in the background of the consciousness of the people occasionally leading them astray and only partially restrained by a veneer of the more practical conceptions of advancing knowledge or even by Christianity

In ignorance of the operation of natural laws disease was ascribed to spiritual being of superhuman power the malevolence of demons magic influences enchantments and spells of the black art exercised by a sorcerer wizard or witch, the evil eye or the act of an enemy or possibly the malady was believed to be superinduced by the gods, and as religious conceptions reached a higher level, it was regarded as a visitation of the wrath of a deity in revenge for some act of omission or commission neglect, or impiety until finally it was held to be a punishment for sin The individual fell prey to disease in consequence of these supernatural onslaught while the community, in similar fashion was visited by epidemic

The demons of disease gained entrance to the body through one of its natural openings in an unguarded moment, taking possession and carrying on their destructive work by so eating or gnawing away the entrails and other tissues of the body that unless driven out, they might even cause death. Comparing such ancient beliefs with our present knowledge of pathogenesis, they are found strangely similar by simple changes in terms, substituting those of bacteriology and parasitology for the host of unknown and unnamed active living forces the invisible beings of demonology.

Diagnosis was of small importance in religious healing since the causes of all diseases were believed to be practically the same in kind and were covered in the prescribed magico-religious formulas. Therapeutic methods differed widely in detail but each was based upon ritual of worship, sacrifice, and purification to conciliate and gain the favor of the gods, and to entreat divine intervention for cure or to exorcise the malignant authors of disease to appease, frighten or coax them, or to offer a substitute victim and thus to be rid of them. Such appeals were supported by mystic rites often accompanied by the administration of remedies the exact method of treatment not infrequently being communicated in dreams and vision or by oracles while in the cure of the sick magic was ever an efficient handmaiden of religion. Healing was therefore a mystic process which under the ancient régime often appeared as the successful result of a contest between invisible beings of good and evil or was taken as proof that offended deities had been conciliated and had conferred their favor. Prevention of disease was believed to be obtained by the wearing of amulets and talismans the power of prophylaxis being derived from some spiritual source, usually because of some inscribed divine words of power.

In theory and in large measure in practice the deities generally were efficacious for healing and any god might exercise his control over the demons of disease to effect a cure or might extend his beneficent power directly for the aid of the suffering. Some divinities however appeared to the people to be more graciously inclined than others to aid the sick and even to be more efficient as healers whence they became favorites and were renowned for their therapeutic benefactions in addition to other functions which they might have. A few developed as specialists but the majority exercised their healing power sporadically and in special instances or they were merely patrons of the healing art and had little or no active function.

Such in general terms were the beliefs and customs of the ancient pagan civilizations in the matter of religious therapeutics. In this connection it should be remembered however that in most countries herein referred to there were physicians who practiced independently aside by aside with temple healing. Some were governed by custom others by law. It is assumed that for the most part they gathered their medical knowledge from folklore and experience or from the priestly class and it is known that they frequently cooperated with the priest to whom they looked for guidance. Such independent work undoubtedly had a very definite influence on the development of the various ancient theories of disease and on the more material practical therapeutics, fostering scientific method and a gradual relaxation of the hold of religion on the healing art but for these coincident phases in the history of medicine the reader is referred to the many general treatises on the subject.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABAW</i>	Abhandlung n der koniglich n Akad mi der Wi s n ch f ten u B rlin Philo ophi ch hi tori ch Cl
<i>AF</i>	Altori ntali che For chungen
<i>AJA</i>	Am ric n Journ l of Arch ology
<i>AJP</i>	Am rican Journal of Philology
<i>AJSL</i>	American Journ l of S mitic L n u g s nd Lat r tur
<i>AKAW</i>	Anz ig r d r k i rlich Ak d mie d r Wi en ch ft n Philosophi ch hi tori ch Cl
<i>AMH</i>	Annals of Medical Hi tory
<i>AMWL</i>	Allg mein Mon tschrift fur Wi n ch ft und Lat r tur
<i>AP</i>	Anthropological Papers
<i>APAW</i>	Abh ndlungen der koniglich preussi chen Akademi d r Wi n chaften
<i>BAM</i>	Bulletin de l'Ac d'mie d Médecine
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de Correspondance h lléniqu
<i>BIA</i>	Bulletino dell istituto di corrisponden a rcheologica
<i>BKSGW</i>	Bericht ub r die Verhandlungen der koniglichen ch i ch G ll chaft d r Wiss n chaften Philo ophi ch hi tori ch Cl
<i>BMJ</i>	Briti h M die l Journal
<i>BOR</i>	B bylonian nd Orie t l R cord
<i>CIA</i>	Corpu I criptionu Attic rum
<i>CIG</i>	Corpu In riptionu Gr carum
<i>CIGGS</i>	Corpus In criptionum Græcarum Gr ci S pt ntrion li
<i>CIL</i>	Corpu Inscriptionum L tin rum
<i>CIR</i>	Corpu In criptionum Rhen n rum
<i>CIS</i>	Corpu In criptionum Semiticarum
<i>CLC</i>	Cine nnati L ncet Clime
<i>CMV</i>	Th K R Cam M morial Volu
<i>CSHD</i>	Cla ical Studie in Honour of Henry Dri ler
<i>EB</i>	Encyclop di Britannica
<i>EMJ</i>	Edinburgh Medic l Journal
<i>ER</i>	Egyptological Res rehe
<i>ERE</i>	Encyclopædia of Religion nd Ethic
<i>ESE</i>	Ephemer fur emiti che Epigraphik
<i>GIPA</i>	Grundri s der i do ari ch n Philologi und Alt rtu kunde
<i>IF</i>	Indogerm n ch For chungen

<i>IG</i>	Inscription Græcæ
<i>IGA</i>	Inscriptione Græcæ Antiquis imæ
<i>JA</i>	Journal asiatique
<i>JAMA</i>	Journal of the American Medical Association
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<i>JBASR</i>	Journal of the British American Archaeological Society of Rome
<i>JCP</i>	Journal für classische Philologie
<i>JEÄ</i>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies
<i>KS</i>	Kleine Schriften
<i>MAIA</i>	Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Institute in Athen
<i>MAIBL</i>	Mémoires de l'Institut national de France Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres
<i>MAR</i>	Mythology of All Races
<i>ME</i>	Mélanges égyptologiques
<i>MVG</i>	Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft
<i>NMBIF</i>	Notice tirée de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale de France
<i>NYHSQB</i>	New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin
<i>PCC</i>	Proceedings of the Chirka Club
<i>PRSM</i>	Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine Section of the History of Medicine
<i>PSBA</i>	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
<i>RA</i>	Revue archéologique
<i>RC</i>	Revue liturgique
<i>RE</i>	Revue égyptologique
<i>REMC</i>	Revue d'études égyptologiques dédiée à la mémoire de Jean François Champollion
<i>RHR</i>	Revue d'histoire des religions
<i>RN</i>	Revue numismatique
<i>RP</i>	Record of the Past
<i>RTPA</i>	Revue de travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne
<i>RVV</i>	Religiongeschichte Versuche und Vorarbeiten
<i>SBE</i>	Sacred Books of the East
<i>SGAS</i>	Studien auf dem Gebiet der griechischen und der arischen Sprachen
<i>SIG</i>	Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum
<i>UGAA</i>	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens

ABBREVIATIONS

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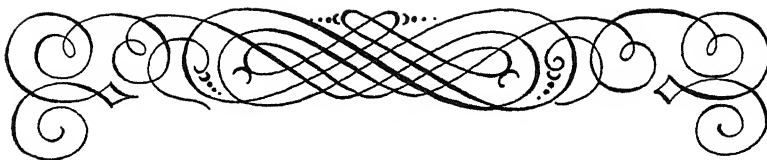
ZA Z it schrift fur gypti ch Spr ch und Altertum kund
ZDMG Zeitschrift d r deutschen morgenl ndi chen G ll h ft

The following uthor' me t nd for their work giv n
 P uly Wl ow R l Eneyklopadie d r el i ch Alt rtu wl en
 chaft

R ch r Ausfuhrliche Lexikon der griech ch n und r m
 chen Mythologi

CHAPTER ONE

EGYPTIAN GODS



CHAPTER ONE

THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

The civilization of Egypt

THE ancient Egyptians were a people of superior attainments. The condition in the Nile valley being favorable to life and conducive to prosperity the people utilized their advantages, developed their resources and were at least on a par with their contemporaries as pioneers and leaders in the arts of civilization.

Egyptologists assert that the more they learn of ancient Egypt the more complete and far reaching its civilization is found to have been.¹ The attainment of their learned men were recognized and admired by their contemporaries and the repute of their age for wisdom was proverbial while they were equally renowned for their skill in healing disease (Herodotos III, 1-132). Many of the earlier kings as well as those of the Thinites, in the fourth millennium B.C., and of the Third Memphite Dynasty, are reputed to have been versed in medical lore and a chief priests to have practiced healing among their peoples. Specialists were attached to the court of kings and several physicians and superintendents of physicians were so renowned and respected that their names were recorded on stone and are known to us. The foundations of Egyptian medicine were laid in prehistoric times. The method

¹ Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 118

G. Foucart, 'Disease and Medicine (Egyptian)' in *ERE* IV 751

of healing disease, devised by the gods and communicated to their representatives the priests were not subject to improvement by man hence they were jealously guarded preserved and became traditional Although the practice in the different parts of the Valley may have varied influenced by the special religious belief of the various healing centers the information now available does not permit of making distinctions either for place or for possible changes in the course of the widely separated period of ancient Egyptian history It is believed, however that the methods of healing developed in the early centuries were as conservatively followed without material change in principle as were the religious beliefs and customs with which they were associated and of which they were an integral part

The Pyramid Texts

The first glimpse of the early civilization of Egypt furnished by the Pyramid Texts from her oldest monument indicate that, in the fourth and third millennium B.C., she was already far advanced in her intellectual and spiritual development At that early date Egypt had developed the peculiar beliefs and had adopted the customs and practices which influenced her whole religious career Although characterized by a strong conservatism for previous concepts political and tribal rivalries as well as a moral and philosophical development played active part in Egypt's long history resulting in an unfolding and a fashioning of conception of divinity and its powers and many changes occurred in the religion of the several districts or nome, often politically detached into which the long valley of the Nile was divided Gods and cults were blended by peaceful combinations or were fused by conquest with a compounding of names a disguising of

Breasted *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp 30 ff

myths, and a mass of surprising inconsistencies that have bewildered all late observer ⁴

Egyptian reticence

The priests were extremely reticent respecting their religion and such explanations as they made in response to inquiry were in enigmatical terms hints of half truth mystical suggestions and intimations of symbol in which confused their hearers and served further to obscure the meaning of their religious rites rather than reveal their sentiment The Egyptians believed that words are a great mystery The Divine Books and the books of the double house of life were sacred and none but the initiated were permitted to see them 'it is not to be looked at (*Papyrus Leyden*, 348 recto 2 7) by any except him for whom it was intended The eye of no man whatsoever must see it it is a thing of abomination for [every man] to know it Hide it therefore the Book of the Lady of the Hidden Temple is its name The Egyptians however, illustrated and liberally portrayed the practical application of their religious belief and custom on their monument, but they were silent concerning their philosophy and theology while it is doubted whether they ever attempted to formulate theories or to establish principle

Character of the early religion

The religion of the Egyptians appears to have had its origin in animism out of which its polytheistic pantheon is assumed to have developed From prehistoric times it had grown out of their crude beliefs and without control or guidance had evolved the innumerable traditional

⁴ Breasted *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p 369

Budge *Egyptian Magic*, p 116 also Baillet *Idées morales d'Égypte antique*, pp 72 75

Müller *Mythology, Egypt*, pp 15 214

myths of the many independent deities of the Nile valley. It presented itself to a late observer [Herodotos] as a religion of innumerable external observances and mechanical usage carried out with such elaborate and insistent punctiliousness that the Egyptians gained the reputation of being the most religious of all peoples.⁷ The earliest glimpses of the life of the people the evidences of the Pyramid Age show that they were pious and devout (Herodotos II 64) tenacious and sincere in their beliefs, and with a high moral discernment for truth, righteousness and justice. These sentiments influenced their daily life and by such standards they were judged after death. Moral purity and justice in this life gained for them a life after death in many respects like unto that upon earth.

Egyptian deities

The recognized religion of the Egyptians was based upon polytheism. Although some Egyptologists find suggestions that a belief which may practically be characterized as monotheistic was ancient when the pyramids were built more particularly in the cult of Osiris and as early as 3300 B.C. it never gained definite recognition or influence not even in the ephemeral religious revolution of Aten.¹⁰ In their primitive day the Egyptians had conceived the force of nature and other influences affecting their lives as living, breathing, thinking beings, revealed and manifested in various forms as fetishes in wood or stone or abiding in animals, birds and reptiles, so that earth, air, and sky teemed with spirits of all sorts carrying on the works of nature and aiding or obstructing mankind. The Egyptian deities were developed from among

⁷ Brasted, *op cit*, p. 367

Ib., pp. 165 ff

A. H. Gardiner, "Egypt, Ancient Religion," in *EB* IX, 52

¹⁰ Budge *Gods*, I 119-147 also Brasted *op cit*, p.

these spirits Mythical tale were conceived concerning them and they acquired personal traits qualities function powers and attributes God for all function were evolved according to the expanding intellectual spiritual and imaginary need of the people and their leaders and the deities had nature like unto those of man although with greater powers of concentrating their energy they were superior to humanity They had need of food and drink they had passions and emotion of grief and joy they were subject to disease and death they grew old and had the infirmities of age became enfeebled tottered drudged and were helpless and finally like man they went forth to the tomb and were there subjected to the same moral inquisition¹¹ Their bodies were mummified and preserved in appropriate tombs but the spirit of the divinity was transferred to the mummy or to an image of the god and dwelt therein the god or goddess receiving the same homage and worship as before

Deities incarnate in animals

Apparently a natural outgrowth of prehistoric animistic belief¹² the spirits of the divinities were incarnate in the form of certain animal bird and reptiles As representative of their respective deities such sacred animals received homage and developed cultic worship (Herodotus II 65-66)¹³ Very early certain other gods and goddesses were conceived as having human bodies with the head of the animal or bird that was identified with them and the name became a distinctive part of the title of the divinity as the ibis-headed Thoth (or Thout) the hawk-headed Horus and the lion-headed Sekhmet¹⁴ A

¹¹ M. Perrot *The History of Egypt, Ch. Idea, Syria, Babylon and Assyria*, I 151, 162, 225 ff. also Müller *op cit*, p. 80

¹² Müller *op cit*, p. 159

¹³ Budge *op cit*, II 345 ff.

¹⁴ Gardiner, *op cit*, p. 50

few deities particularly Osiris and Ptah were represented with human heads and faces and it has been suggested that this may be attributable to a possible Semitic origin or as being examples of the deification of ancient rulers¹ Emblems often suggestive of their function were acquired and these together with the animal form served to identify the gods in pictorial representations in the tombs and on the monuments Such characterizations were constant from very ancient times and became distinctive of the divinity except that in subsequent syncretisms deities borrowed the heads and emblems of other god as indicative of additional function and aspect which they had assumed although the worship of Osiris Neith and Hathor as known in late periods retained many of the characteristic aspects shown by pre-Dynastic and archaic monuments

Local deities

Each political district (or nome) city and tribe throughout the Nile valley had its own local divinity who bestowed life health and prosperity upon his or her people who was its patron protector and ruler, whose divine sovereign power was recognized and whose supremacy was upheld against all rivals¹ The real names of the gods were known only to the priests if at all they were too sacred to be mentioned whence the deity received substitute names some being best known by their home seats as He of Edfu (Tbôt) or She of Dendera (Enet)¹⁷ Such deities might be either male or female and there was usually a consort possibly a neighboring god or goddess and a child making a triad or family of divinities At the seats of the greater deities the number asso-

¹ K. Sethe, *Heroes and Hero-Gods (Egyptian)*, in *ERE* vi 648

¹ *Budge's op cit*, i 95 f

¹⁷ G. Foucart, *Nam s (Egyptian)*, in *ERE* i 153

THE EGYPTIAN DEITIES

ciated in the anctuary was frequently larger an ennead a at Helopolis (An or On) or a circle of associated gods a that surrounding Thoth at Hermopolis (Khmu nu) and there was sometimes a double or triple ennead ¹ Each nome and city had its temple sacred to it official deity and lesser divinities associated with the chief god were a signed shrines in the sanctuary relative to their importance receiving appropriate hares in the worship and sacrifices Each family almost each individual po e sed a god or fetish who had a niche or hrine in the household and who was loved respected worshipped con ulted and obeyed as the family or personal guide in the various contingencie of life ¹ A nome and cite in creased in importance their respective deities develop ing independently of each other advanced in prestige and formed relations friendly or otherwise with neighboring gods Myths and tales were repeated and the local divin ities often became famed beyond their borders for certain functions and attributes ² Local priests were quick to take advantage of any opportunity to enhance the po i tion of their god frequently accomplishing it by blend ing with a more important deity ¹ Thu at Helopolis the nome god Atum wa united with the great sun god Re and became the more dignified Atum Re rising in rank by re flected glory and appropriating his attributes and hi powers In such cases the local divinity did not lo e his identity but gained in prestige by the additional a pect of a composite character ² Thus Horu wa syncreti ed and presided over three nomes in Upper and two in Lower Egypt while Hat hôr had five seats in Upper and one in

¹ Budg , *op c t* , 1 5 ff al o Muller *op c t* , p 216

¹ Ma p ro *op c t* , 1 172 f
Mull r *op c t* , pp 202 204

¹ Budg *op c t* , 1, 175
Ib , 1 102

Lower Egypt ³ Such syncretism became a common practice ⁴ Local deities assumed correlation with the great gods used their attributes and exercised their power with resulting conflicts of personality, indistinctness of character fanciful variations and a mystic confusion that is bewildering to the stranger though it apparently enhanced the beauty of the mythological conception for the Egyptian imagination ⁵ Thereafter the great god could best be identified by their original residences as Re of Heliopolis or Hat hô of Dendera

Cosmic and tribal gods

Two phenomena appear to have been prominent in the development of the religious thought of ancient Egypt first the sun the most insistent fact in the Nile valley, or the solar system and second the life giving Nile Very early the gods were conceived as being of two groups those representing the cosmic forces of nature the sun moon and stars the atmosphere and earth, which are referred to as the solar group and the tribal or official divinity of the nomes and cities In the solar pantheon, the sun was viewed differently in various places and had several names At Edfu he appeared as a falcon as a winged disk (Hor or Horu) or as Har akhti Horu of the Horizon and there were four Horuses in the Eastern Sky The sun disk with falcon's wings was one of the most common symbols of Egyptian religion In many places the sun was a winged beetle Khepri ⁷ rising in the eastern sky the material sun of noon day was Re and the evening sun Atum appeared at Heliopolis as an old

Moore *The History of Religions*, p 146

⁴ M nzi *The History of Religions*, p 145

Müller *op cit*, p 92

⁵ Br t d *op cit*, pp 9 f

⁷ Budg *op cit*, i 294

man tottering to his grave in the west. Originally distinct these ungod were correlated. Horus became the son of Re and they coalesced as Re Atum (*Pyramid Texts*, §§1694-1695). The moon Thoth, an eye of the sun god, was called the 'Horus eye' and this was the holiest symbol of Egypt. Horus was supposed to prepare the way for Re when he opened his eyelids; dawn appeared when he closed them; the darkness of night fell. Re, the Horus eye, traversed his kingdom across the sky by day in his Boat of Millions of Years, returning to the east by another boat by a passage through Duat (the Underworld) or by way of the dark north. ^o Ibis-headed Thoth was the moon god. Qêb was the earth god and Nut his consort was the sky goddess supported by Shu, god of the atmosphere. Numberless deities were developed for minor functions.

The rise of Re

In the earliest temples the sun god was the source of life and increase. The priests of Re at Heliopolis fostered the solar theology and during the Fifth Dynasty (*circa* 2750 B.C.) it was established as the state religion. Re thus becoming the universal divinity of Egypt,¹ though he was not the nomen-god but a deity of priests. Atum, the nomen-god of Heliopolis, gained prestige by his assimilation with Re and it then became popular for other local deities to identify themselves with Re so that in the end Re was combined with nearly every deity of Egypt, Ptah being a notable exception. The process of assimilation continued until after 1600 B.C. when it ended with a radical syncretism.

Muller *op cit*, p. 83

Breasted *op cit*, p. 10; also Budge *op cit*, i. 352

^o Budge *op cit*, i. 206 ff; also Breasted *op cit*, p. 144. W. M. Flinders Petrie, "Egyptian Religion" in *ERE* v. 244

¹ Moore, *op cit*, p. 153

Budge *op cit*, i. 330-333-349

ti m in the pantheistic approach to monotheism set forth by Aten³ The sun god was believed to be an ally and protector of the kings of Egypt who about the Fifth Dynasty assumed the title 'Son of Re'⁴ every Pharaoh thenceforth claiming to be a divine incarnation a living representation of the sun god⁵ a bodily son of Re by his queen mother and often acting as the first priest in official ceremonies as an intercessor for the people

No uniformity of belief

The gods and the beliefs associated with them never had any general acceptance throughout the Nile valley views differed in each district and in each age and it has been said that there was no such thing as the Egyptian religion but that rather during thousand of year there were ever varying mixtures of theologies and eschatologies in the land, though the funerary side of the religion became better known than any other⁶⁷

Osiris and Isis

According to the myths of the Pyramid Texts Osiris of Mendes (Dêdu) in the Delta was the Nile god the fertilizer of the soil and the beneficent deity of vegetation⁸ while his sister and consort Isis of Buto (Per uazit or Per uzoit) also in the Delta represented the rich black soil of the Valley and was the divinity of love and fecundity Osiris also symbolized the doctrine of the after life the future life in the grave an early feature of Egyptian religious thought and the tomb was the kingdom of

³ Muller *op cit*, pp 28 21, 224 ff

⁴ Br t d *op cit*, p 15 Budg *op cit*, 1 329

Müller *op cit*, p 170

Not nearly as simple if not the origin, of the idea of virgin birth

⁷ P tri in *ERE* v 236

Br t d, *op cit*, p 143

Osiri Between the sun god Re and Osiris as the deity of the Underworld there existed from the beginning a serious rivalry for the highest place in religion and this continued throughout the many centuries of Egypt' history until after the Christian era

The Osirian myth

According to the myth, which has many variations Osiris had incurred the enmity of his brother Sêth who murdered him and threw his body into the Nile where it was found by Isis and by the aid of Thoth was temporarily restored to life His posthumous son the child Horus seeking justice for his father introduced him into the Great Hall at Heliopolis for justification from the charge brought by Sêth before the tribunal of the gods and at the trial the accuser was defeated by Horus with the moon god Thoth as the ally and advocate of Osiris or as Judge of the Rivals who reconciled the gods while Osiris was vindicated ('justified') by the gods and was made Lord of the Underworld and Judge of the Dead superseding Anubis (Anupu) the old Lord of the Sepulchre According to another form of the myth the body of Osiris dismembered and scattered by Sêth was diligently sought and gathered up by the faithful Isis put together by Thoth embalmed by Anubis and placed in the tomb at Abydos (Abotu) of which he became lord, whence that necropolis was thereafter the center of his cult this concept of him overshadowing his aspect as the Nile god⁴¹ In his person Osiris had suffered indignity and death at the hands of his enemies, had risen from the dead and had made his moral justification before his judge being

Muller, *op cit*, pp 72-73

⁴ Muller *ib*, pp 117-118 also Boylan *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, p 42

⁴¹ He presented himself as a fat man was also a Nile god

awarded everlasting life in the Land of the West, and later a more glorified existence in the Eastern Sky. The Osirian doctrine was a popular one but while it was accepted by the more cultured and refined among the people it did not satisfy their aspirations though it gave to every Egyptian the hope of securing moral purification after death of attaining everlasting life and of becoming an Osiris.

Trial of the dead

The Judgment scene in Amenti, of which there are three accounts, a part of the *Book of the Dead* and the most common in the papyri is depicted on the walls in many tombs. The deceased is conducted to the trial chamber the Hall of Maat by Thoth and his heart is weighed in the Great Balance against an ostrich feather representing Maat the goddess of right and truth by Anubis supervised by Thoth who records the result and reports it to Osiris (*Book of the Dead*, ch. p. cxxv) ⁴. The deceased is then led before his judges Osiris and the forty-two counsellors by Horus and there makes his profession of a moral just and pure life on earth denying all wrong. In this Negative Confession of which there are several versions the deceased addresses Osiris as follows ⁴³:

Homage to thee, O Great god thou Lord of Maat I have come to thee, O my lord and I have brought myself hither that I may behold thy beauties. I know thee and I know thy name and I know the name of the two and forty gods who exist with thee in the Hall of Maat who live on evil doers and devour their blood. Hail to thee great lord lord of truth. Behold I come to thee, I bring to thee righteousnes and I expel for thee in I have committed no sin against the people. I have not

⁴ Boylston *op cit*, p. 142

⁴³ Brasted, *op cit*, pp. 299-306, also J. B. Prie, "Confession (Egyptian)," in *ERE* iii 827-829, Budge, *M. g.*, p. 163. Budge, *Gods*, ii 159.

don evil in the place of truth I knew no wrong I did no evil thing I did not do that which the god bominates I did not report evil of a servant to his master I allowed no one to hunger I caused no one to weep I did no murder I did not command to murder I caused no man misery I did not diminish food in the temple I did not decrease the offering of the god I did not take away the food offering of the dead I did not diminish the grain measure I did not load the weight of the balance

I did not withhold the herd of the temple endowment I did not interfere with the god in his payment I purified four times I am pure as the great Phoenix I am pure which is at Hierakonpolis [Henen ne ut] For I am the throne of the Lord of Breath who keeps alive all the people There is no evil thing against me in this land in the Hall of Maat because I know the names of the gods who are therein, the follower of the Great God

If the deceased is found true of speech the god says Pass onward and he is guided by Horus After traversing the Seven Hall of Osiris and answering correctly the names of the many pylons and other questions the god of the pylons says Pass on thou art pure⁴ and he becomes one of the People of the West in the land of Sekhet Earu or Field of Rushes By the side of the Great Balance sits a monster Sobk the 'Devourer', with the body of a hippopotamus and the jaws of a crocodile⁴ to whom Anubis tosses the hearts which do not weigh against the feather of the unfortunate who fail to justify themselves or of those who are condemned to torments or to punishments that mean annihilation or long agony

The Book of the Dead and 'Coffin Texts'

In order to pass the ordeal successfully and to become one of the blessed enjoying everlasting life in the Land of the West, the deceased must not only know the names of

⁴ Budg, *M. gic*, p 167

⁴ Muller, *op cit*, pp 148 179 180

his judges the counsellors and other persons and things he meets on his journey but he must be prepared to avoid the pitfalls and danger of the passage to his final resting place I know you and I know your names, therefore know ye me even as I know your names ⁴ Accordingly all the necessary information was prepared and buried with the dead lists of names prayer texts hymns of praise and especially magic words of power to enable him to answer all questions correctly and to arrive at his final home in the 'Field of Rushes, the celestial realm of the early king The dead are glorious by reason [mean] of their equipped mouths ⁴⁷ King Unas at his burial (3300 B.C.) was provided with a book of words of power in which it was stated that the bone and flesh which possess no writing are wretched but behold the writing of Unas is under the great seal and behold it is not under the little seal ⁴ The devouring crocodile was held back by these means 'Get thee back return, get thee back thou crocodile fiend Sobk Thou shalt not advance to me, for I live by reason of the words of power I have with me or I am clothed and wholly provided with thy magical word O Re the which are in heaven above me and in the earth beneath me ⁴ These matters are contained in the Pyramid Texts originally the mortuary customs for kings engraved on the walls of the royal tombs but after the Old Kingdom the belief in the effectiveness of the uttered word developed to such an extent that they were appropriated by the middle and official classes thus coming to represent a similar funerary literature of the populace of the Feudal Age

The texts were written on rolls of papyrus which have

⁴ Budge *op cit*, p 165

⁴⁷ Breasted *op cit*, p 94

⁴ Budge *op cit*, p 124

⁴ *Ib* pp 126 127

commonly come to be called the Book of the Dead the official version, which was built up gradually and which became standardised in some measure even canonical in the Saite period, finally containing 165 chapters. Copies of extracts from these documents about equally divided between the popular mortuary literature and the Pyramid Texts were supplied by the priests to the coffin-maker of the Feudal Age, and scribes copied them in pen and ink on the inner surface of the cedar coffin inserting the name of the deceased whence they came to be known as 'Coffin Texts'.⁵⁰ In some of the copies the successful issue of the trial as anticipated by the deceased and his friends was depicted and the word justified was appended to his name on the tomb.⁵¹

The life in the tomb

In the cult of the dead the after life in the tomb in Amenti, was an active one similar in many respects to that on earth and a text in the *Book of the Dead*, chapter cx gives a man power of 'doing everything even as a man doeth on earth'. While the present life was in every way preferable that of the dead was not gloomy but was joyous and happy if their wants were supplied though neglect rendered their existence correspondingly wretched. Those in the tomb required food, drink, clothing, utensils and servants (*ushebtuu*) as when on earth but for these they were entirely dependent on the good will and sacrifices of their family, their friends and those who followed them. Since therefore there was constant dread that their stores in the tomb should fail endowments were established to guard against such a contingency and other

Breasted, *op cit*, pp 272 ff, 293, 296 f

⁵¹ Gardiner, in *EB* ix, 56

Budge *Gods*, i 168 see further, A. H. Gardiner 'Life and Death (Egyptian)' in *ERE* viii 19-25

measures were taken that the supply should be continuous and permanent. Providing for the deceased became a heavy financial burden upon the people until it was finally lifted by the ingenuity of the priests with the aid of the magic of daily life which was brought more and more to bear on the hereafter and which was increasingly placed at the service of the dead.⁴ All things pictured on the wall of the tomb mystically became real and alive, ready for the service of the occupant by the mere magic of word formula. Hence all the necessities of life including arable fields and servant and animals to work them were imitated in figure or were portrayed on the wall and when given a name they supplied all wants, thus permanently securing the future comfort of the departed by those things which chanted declamation made real. Appeals to passers by were engraved on the tombs, requesting them to utter a prayer *i.e.*, to recite the magic formulas that procured these essentials for the happy life of the dead, saying: "It will cost but a breath of the mouth." It may be noted that wild and dangerous animals such as lions and elephants were often pictured incomplete and as lacking an essential part if it was thought that they might be dangerous to the occupant when they became alive.

The soul and the body

The Egyptian believed that both gods and men were composed of at least two elements—a body and a soul. The body had a double—a *ka*, an incorporeal reflection which

Brasted, *op cit*, pp 267 ff

⁴ *Ib*, pp 294 ff

Müller *op cit*, pp 177 ff

Foucart in *ERE* ix 152

⁷ Gardinier in *EB* i 56, also Brasted *op cit*, pp 272 ff

P. Lacau "Suppression et modification de signes dans les textes funéraires", in *ZA*, 1914, li, 164

was born with him and which awaited him at the tomb as a kind of superior genius to act as his monitor and guide. When a man or god died it was said that he had gone to live with his *ka*, which dwelt in the sky when it was a god or a king. In the tomb of King Pepi who died about 3200 B.C. it was recorded that Pepi goeth forth with his fleh. Pepi is happy with his name and he liveth with his *ka*, he [the *ka*] expels the evil that is before Pepi; he removes the evil that is behind Pepi. (*Pyramid Texts* 908). The soul or *ba*, associated with the breath, was depicted as a bird with a human head hovering over the mouth of the deceased giving him breath with its wings and awakening him to the after life.¹ The body remained on earth and the soul dwelt above; nor did the soul or shadow of a divinity differ from those of a man except that they were stronger and more ethereal. The amuletic *sa*, circulating among the gods, gave greater vigor which they could transmit to man and when they became exhausted they renewed their strength at the Pond of Sa in the Northern Sky.

The Sacred Eastern Sky

The Osirian heaven was in the gloomy west, the Field of Rushes, or Earu, and Osiris was Lord of the People of the West. From earliest times the kings of Egypt and later (2950-2475 B.C.) the nobles and great men had been accorded a happier celestial realm where they blended with Horus, the sky god, and where they were given a seat in the Sacred Eastern Sky. Even from the beginning the bitter rivalry for the highest place in Egyptian religion

Breasted, *op cit*, pp. 52 ff.

⁰ Budge, *Magic*, p. 158, also Breasted, *op cit*, p. 53.

⁶¹ Breasted, *op cit*, pp. 56 ff.

Maiporo, *op cit*, I, 151.

Breasted, *op cit*, p. 139.

had continued. The solar theologians of Heliopolis had actively supported the claims of Re and had succeeded in advancing him to supremacy but the ethical teachings of the Osirian faith made a powerful appeal to the common people and had a rapid growth after the Pyramid Age⁶ gaining strong adherents and attaining such influence that the cult became a dangerous rival to the adoration of Re. During the Middle Kingdom the worship of Osiris made irresistible progress, gained moral supremacy and confusions developed between Osiris and Re. Osirian theology was combined with that of Heliopolis and the Osirian hereafter was celestialized and received an honored place in the happier celestial realm in the Sacred Eastern Sky which was reached by a ladder or by a boat, the Boat of Million of Years of which Re was the ferryman or which was guided by the strange ferryman whose face
1 backward

Spirits and demons

Reflecting the ideas of prehistoric animism the Egyptians imagined that every living being or thing had its spirit or demon and that spirits existed in vast number in the heavens, earth and nether world. They were never specifically good or bad in origin or disposition but in their development, according as they were controlled or directed by a master spirit or by a personal whim, some proved friendly to man while others were hostile. Spirit became detached from their objects and as they emerged and were recognized they received names and might become deities.⁷ The classes of spirits were not clearly de-

⁴ Breasted *op cit*, p. 285

Ib., pp. 148, 153, 158. Also Budg. *Gods*, I, 167, II, 241.

⁶ Muller *op cit*, pp. 58, 176. Also Breasted *op cit*, pp. 157 ff.

⁷ For a general survey of this subject see G. Foucart, 'Demons and Spirit (Egyptian)' in *ERE* IV, 584-589. Also Budg. *op cit*, I, 3 ff.

finer though they ranked between gods and the king and queen, but there were the *banu* and the *khnu*, the latter being also the name for the ghosts of the dead. These terms were interchangeable for a time but later the *banu* appeared more beneficent and the *khnu* more maleficent although the essential natures of demons and gods were the same. Then there were the *rekhtu* (the knowing ones the wise) who though full of wisdom were mischievous and were the personifications of the powers opposed to the divinities. There was also the great and powerful master spirit of evil the serpent Apop the arch fiend who represented darkness who was spiritually opposed to Re⁷⁰ and who with his fiends as the children of rebellion was equally hostile to man⁷¹. Each morning he fought with Re to prevent the rising of the sun and though he was always defeated he renewed the struggle daily to continue the darkness. The god of Upper Egypt Sêth, the brother of Osiris and Isis in early times beneficent a friend of Horus (*Pyramid Texts*, 141 370 473) and a helper of the dead, became the deadly enemy of Osiris and of Horus the child thus developing into a persistent doer of wickedness to whom were attributed most of the misfortunes and calamities befalling mankind. In late times he was known to the Greeks as Typhon. Malignant spirits, like gods were syncretized and blended and Sêth Apop became a composite agent of evil.

In the *Book of the Dead* the innumerable evil spirits receive much attention⁷. The evil being like the ghosts of the dead were recognized in religion and were made

Sethe in *ERE* vi 647

Muller, *op cit*, pp 379 380 notes 18 31

⁷ *Ib*, p 104

⁷¹ Budg *op cit*, i 109, 324

⁷ *Ib*, i 324, ii 245

⁷ Foucart in *ERE* iv 585

prominent by many magic practices yet it appears that they were more important in the imagination of the people than in the minds of the priests for they were not officially listed they did not form a fixed caste or develop into a demoniacal hierarchy and there were no such monsters hideous and bloodthirsty as those of Assyria and Babylonia. The contest to overcome the malign influence of maleficent spirit was constant and it received the earnest attention of the people but they were not oppressed by such fear as were many of their contemporaries. Seth and his partisans were definite and active spirits creating evil spreading disease madness and all forms of malignity their eyes shed tears that dropping upon the ground made plant poisonous their sweat saliva and blood were deadly and falling upon the earth germinated into scorpions venomous reptiles and strange deadly plants. There were spirit for each mischief of every rank chief and attendant, but all were subject to the higher will of their leaders and of the gods and their ministers who possessed the secret names and words of power.

The priesthood

Egypt had numerous temples in the nomes and cities of the Nile valley and a retinue of priests priestesses and lay attendants varying in number according to the importance of the sanctuary was attached to each. All were governed by strict rules and traditions and purity in everything connected with the shrine was invariably an essential. The priests were divided into classes differing in rank and each having special duties which were exacting and onerous and lay priests served for one fourth of each year. The temple duties commenced early

⁷⁴ M. Perrot, *op. cit.*, 1 225

⁷⁵ A. M. Blackman, *Priest Priesthood (Egyptian)*, in *ERE*, 293 302 also Breasted *History*, p. 64

in the morning with the breaking of the clay seals which protected the sacred rooms and with the routine ritual of personal attentions to the deities⁷ these consisting of the toilet of the god (washing anointing and perfuming the idol and burning incense before it) chanting hymn bowing in adoration and making sacrifice and libations⁷⁷ Then followed numerous rite and ceremony which continued during the day and often into the night and there were also the special ceremonies of the several festivals The priests cared for the sacred book upheld the supremacy of their local divinity and when possible enhanced their reputation and position by relation with other deities Sacerdotal schools each known as the house of life (*per'onkh*) were conducted in connection with the temples of the greater gods as at Heliopolis Hermopolis Abydos and Thebes (Waset or Newt) During the New Empire the priesthood and the sacerdotal college growing in wealth acquired great influence and power in matters political so that the Pharaoh consulted the priests in state affairs bowing to their dictate while the chief priest of Amon of Thebes was made primate of Egypt⁷

Religious festivals

Egypt was extremely rich in festivals and fasts upwards of fifteen hundred for all periods and places being listed and these formed an important element in the daily and religious life of the people⁷ A large number were in honor of the god while others were to celebrate important events such as the seasons the arrival of the river or the opening of the canals Festivals were held to ex-

⁷ A. M. Blackman, *Worship (Egyptian)* in *ERE* xii 776-782

⁷⁷ Moore *op cit*, p. 156

⁷ Breasted *Dev. op. cit.*, p. 363

⁷ Foucart, 'Festivals and Fasts (Egyptian)' in *ERE* v 853-857
 10 P. T. in *ERE* v 238 ff

change visits between the divinities of different cities a between Horus of Edfu and Hat hôr of Dendera, long retinue of priests and attendant accompanying the deities and during the ceremonies sacred dramas were performed based upon some legendary incident in the lives of the gods as at the festival of Horus at Edfu and in celebration of the mysteries of Osiris at Abydos.⁸⁰ The festivals of the divinities of the dead were of a funerary character and those of Osiris were fused with those of the cycle of the cult of Ptah Sokar Osiris. Festivals lasted for days weeks and even a month and were occasions for general rejoicings with music dancing and often noisy licentious gaiety.

Egyptian magic

Like peoples of other races the Egyptian sought to better their condition and destiny by enlisting the aid of supernatural force to modify the natural order and acting upon their belief that the god and various spirits had the requisite power they entered into dealings with them by method known as *hike*, the best English equivalent for which is magical power. An essential element in all such dealings was mystery and they had the clear implication of demand upon the unseen for the exercise of supernatural miraculous power for the benefit of the living action which when analyzed are found to be magical leaving little that may be described as religion. Hence it is claimed that from the Egyptian point of view there was only *hike*, but no such thing as religion which should be considered in the tripartite division of it active aspect into the worship of the gods cult of the dead and magic.¹ In the estimation of the people *hike* was efficacious.

⁸⁰ Moret *Mystère égyptiens*, pp 15 ff. Also id., *Mythologie Égyptienne* in *ERE* i 74-77.

¹ A. H. Gardiner "Magic (Egyptian)" in *ERE* viii 262-269. Also id., *Die Ägyptische Religion*, 2d ed., chapters i vi.

ciou and wa consequently held in high esteem magic was sacrosanct and unchangeable the oldest and most characteristic element of the so called religion it was applied religion and all rite and ceremonies were full of it There was even a deified concept of *hike'*, special divinity (who may have been a form of Thoth) the god of the Magic Formulas who in the Pyramid Texts was represented as sphinx bearing a scourge a shepherd staff and the cepter of venerability or life physician of the Old Kingdom were priests of Hike * and several well known divinities Thoth Isis Re and Sêth were called great of the magic formula

Divine magic

The magic of the gods differed from that of man only in its superior power Possession of the secret names of deities gave dominance over demons and over all evil spirit enabling the magician to compel divinity of inferior rank to that of the deity whom he invoked and whose true name he knew to do his will Hence both gods and men sought diligently to obtain the secret name of the mightiest divinity The mere possession was sufficient the name was seldom pronounced and the few secret names that were mentioned in the text appear simply cabalistic gibberish It is related that Isis rose from a lowly rank in the house of Re and became the great enchantress of Egypt by her guile, tricking the sun god into yielding up his true name to her † The mechanism of or

Budge *op cit*, i 13

Wiedemann *Magie und Zauberei im alten Agypte*, p 23

* Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'époque égyptienne*, p 96

Gardiner, in *EB* i 56

Müller *op cit*, pp 200 201 also Wiedemann *op cit*, pp 143 145

† Budge *op cit*, i 360 f and for the myth related in v r

Müller *op cit*, pp 80 83

divinatory magic were essentially the same as that which is observed in the worship of the god and in the cult of the dead. The most common use of magic was to cure the sick but black magic and sorcery were used for corrupt and degraded purposes and could be purchased for the injury and misfortune of others.

The magic rites

In order to approach the supernatural agencies by successful magic it was necessary to break down the mystical barrier through the medium of the ritual specified word formula and act: homage and sacrifice and purity in all things was a prerequisite for receiving benefit. The priests versed in secret lore and adepts in all the practices had exclusive charge of the divine books including those of the double house of life and magic in the hands of the proper person, the theologian became religion. The ibis-headed moon god Thoth was the chief magician and Isis was his counterpart. He knew the mystic name, the mighty hidden word of power, the secrets of the gods and hence he was master of them all, having authority over heaven, earth and the Underworld. He knew the prayer, the ceremony and the formulas for all occasions using them in the correct voice and with the proper gesture while magicians educated at his school at Hermopolis had powers which approximated his own.

Examples of magic

The power of Egyptian magic was boundless and the oldest Pyramid Text describes the wonder performed by magicians usually the lector priests (*kher hab*). Devils were cast out, the sick were healed, life was restored, the

Müller *op cit*, p. 198

Budge *op cit*, I, 408. Also M. P. R. *op cit*, I, 246

corruptible body was transformed into the incorruptible human being. He assumed other shape and inanimate object becoming animate obeyed command and then returned to their normal state. The power of nature were under the control of the magician. Wind rain river and the obeyed water were separated and piled up on one side the earth was rent the sun was made to stop in its course and all the mysteries of life death and the future belonged to him who possessed the lore of the book of the double house of life. The Weftcar Papyrus of about 1500 B.C. tells of many feats performed by the chief lector in the reign of King Cheop (Khufu) of the Fourth Dynasty. Tet a magician demonstrated before the Pharaoh his power of revivification by cutting off the head of a goose a snake and a bull after which at his command each head moved forward and joined its respective body thus restoring life.¹ Again when one of the royal rowers lost her jewel in the lake a magician was commanded to secure it which he did by separating the water piling them on either side walking between on dry ground picking up the jewel and returning it to its owner. And the same papyrus contains an account of another magician who fashioned a wax crocodile which placed in the river devoured an adulterer when he came to bathe.¹ At a much later date Moses who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and like her magicians was mighty in word and deed performed things which they also did as well as others which exceeded their power.

⁰ Paraphrase of the Weftcar Papyrus in Flinders Petrie *Egyptian Tablets*, I, 97 142. Also Ermann *Die Mysterien des Papyrus Westcar*, I, 21 ff. Wiedemann, *Altägyptische Sagen und Märchen*, pp. 1 24.

¹ Ermann *op. cit.*, I 8 ff. Also Budg *Magic*, pp. 18 19 10, 67 9. M. Perrot, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 33 34, 28 30 24-27. Exodus VII 10 11 20 22, VIII 5 7, I 18 Acts VII, 22.

Divination

In common with other peoples of the ancient Orient the Egyptians resorted to divination to learn the future and the disposition of the gods toward them. The earlier mantic processes depending upon the interpretation of dreams upon the readings of the stars and upon estimates of their position and influence (little used in healing practice) as well as upon the direct manifestation of the divine will by the deities themselves appear to have been simpler than those of their contemporaries which however were introduced in the late period under Asiatic and Hellenic influences.

The most characteristic Egyptian means of learning the divine will and of securing benefits was by direct appeal to the image of the deity the response being made by selecting the person chosen as in the selection of a king or by acquiescing in the prayer by gestures this being accompanied in some instances by the spoken word as a father to a son. Such consultations were made according to an established etiquette at certain times and places when the priest approaching the statue began the invocation (*âsh*) in court language a king if it were convenient for it to listen to such a petition. According to the records the chief of the temple had a consultation of the god and this was made orally by prayer or by reducing the question to writing after carefully arranged formulae and depositing them under seal before the image of the deity the petition usually beginning as follows 'O God of Goodness my Lord or Lord may we lay before thee a serious affair?' and then stating the case. The reply often came in sealed writing but in certain instances the response proceeded directly from the statue of the divinity if it remained motionless the request was refused.

but if the deity consented to listen and to acquiesce it performed *hanu* (making some movement of the head or arm) twice with declaration or poke words the decree (*utu*) being recorded sometime on the wall of the temple as the word of the god himself. Numerous examples of such response may be found in the cult of Amon-Re of Karnak of Khonsu of Thebes of Ith of Koptos (Kebtoyew) and of the Ethiopian Amon of Napata. Divination like exorcism healing and the possession of the amuletic *sa* was the exclusive privilege of the essential statue although it had the ability of transmitting its magic power to one of its images when the statue of Khonsu made four paces of its magic fluid.

Dreams and oracles

The origin and extent of the use of dreams and of the dream oracle in Egypt are obscure but the power to dream or to cause others to dream was prized and encouraged and sleeping in the temple to obtain a mantic response and a remedy (incubation) was a current practice among prince and private individuals. Diodorus says (1.28) that in Egypt dreams were regarded with religious reverence and that the prayers of the devout are often rewarded by the gods with an indication of the remedy which their suffering requires but this and magic (*Wisdom of Solomon*, xvii. 7-8) were only the last resource when the skill of the physician had been exhausted and when all hope of recovery was gone. A similar feeling toward the god induced them to offer ex votos in the temple for the same purpose (Clemens *apud* Origenes viii. 41).

* Foucart, in *ERE* iv. 793-794.

Id., 'Dream and Sleep (Egyptian)' in *ERE* v. 34-37 also Wilkinson *Men and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ii, 356-462 ff.

Appeal were made to the divinities to hear the prayer and to reveal themselves 'Turn thy face toward me

Tis thou who dost accomplish h miracle and art benevolent in all thy doings t_i thou who give t children to him th t hath none, ' or Tis thou who canst grant me the means of saving all The invocation having been made in the temple the response was awaited in sleep In th v_i ion the god N [or some one in his name] pake to him aying The divinity begins by identifying the per on addressed Art thou not *such an one*, son [f ther, wife etc] of *so and so?*' The god then tell the suppliant t what place when morning come a ealed *naos*, or box will be found containing a certain book which mu t be copied and replaced The direction to be followed by a certain result, were in direct language requiring no interpretation and it is believed that in the Pharaonic period there were no group of official interpreter * In the later epoch the interpretation of v_i ion especially tho e of a symbolic character was a signed to the Ma ter of the Secret Thing or to the Learned Men of the Magic Library who e rly in the Chri tian era formed guild at the Serapeum in Memphi In the anctuary of Ptah Sotmu t Memphis oracles were given during th Pharaonic period to sufferers who consulted it and the demotic inscription of Nubia mention other deities who during long centurie had been sending dream to reveal remedie to per on sleeping in their temple a well a the oracle of I i at Philæ (P_i lak) and Thoth at Pnubs ll these being purely Egyptian in character without for

N d NN r conv ntional indication that prop r i to b appli d cecording to circumstance nd re oft n expre d by th phr *uch on*

Fouc rt i *ERE* v, 36

L tronn 'Notie t text d p pyru gree du Mu ' du Louvr t d l Bibliothequ i p r i l, in *NMBIF*, pp 81 321

sign elements Deities who manifested themselves a hearer of petition¹⁰ were represented having a large number of ears One deity was alleged to have 77 ears and a many ears (*Harris Magic Papyrus* vii 6)¹¹ and a king who was regarded as equal to the god was endowed with innumerable ears (*Anastasi Papyrus*, II vi 3 ff IV v 6 ff)

Early Egyptian healing

The art of healing in Egypt emerged from the mist of prehistoric times as the gift of the god to men The earliest definite knowledge of Egyptian therapeutics comes from the several medical papyri that have been discovered the oldest coming from the Twelfth Dynasty about 2000 B.C. Later texts have parts in common with the older documents evidently being compilations from more ancient writings and this fact together with the grammar and the language tend to confirm the most ancient traditions which attribute a large share of the essential content of these papyri to the early king It was the duty of the Pharaoh to maintain the health of his subjects From Manetho (*apud Africanus Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, ed. Müller ii 511 ff) we learn that King Athotus of the First Dynasty of the Thinite practiced healing and wrote anatomical works The kings of the Third Memphite Dynasty were sons and representatives of the god and in their capacity of chief priests would naturally be acquainted with the method of healing of their time and would apply them among their people King Thothmes (Zoser) in particular fostering

E. Rieu, *Un page de l'histoire de la Nubie*, 1888
v 72-77 and [Littératures de la Nubie] *PSBA*, 1888
55-59

¹⁰ W. Spiegelberg, *ρμν Θηβ* in *ZA*, 1908-1909 xlv, 8-90

¹¹ Budg., *Facsimiles of Egypt Hieratic Papyri*, pl. 26

the healing art in the person of one of his wisest advisers Imhotep, who was deified in Ptolemaic times.¹ The invention of medical science was constantly ascribed to Thoth the ibis-headed moon god the originator of all learning and legend for the use of the dead engraved on lapidary supposed to be in the fifth millennium C. run follow. I am Thoth the inventor and founder of medicine and letters come to me though thou art under the earth rise up to me thou great spirit.¹³ Ptah and the demigod Imhotep performed miracle of cure and in later times were extolled as the inventor of healing but Thoth who in the Greco-Roman period was confused with Hermes Trismegistus¹⁴ largely held the first place in the mind of the Egyptian.

Local healing deities

The deities of Egypt especially the local divinities were beneficent and watchful over the welfare of their people. They were the sole defense against the multiplication of their enemies and by reason of superior knowledge had devised means by which evil spirits were exorcised and the sick were healed the method having been taught by (or stolen from) the gods for the service of mankind and their application having been entrusted to the priesthood.¹⁰ A permanent and precious gift, the sacred revelation must be jealously guarded and transmitted and having implicit faith in their divinities the efficacy of such therapeutic method was never doubted by the people so that they became an integral part of the common religion. Very many of the minor deities of the Nile valley practiced healing and some gained reputation

Foucart in *ERE* iv, 751

¹⁰ Budg. *M. g. c.* p. 43

¹ Griffith *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 58

¹⁰ Foucart, *1 ERE* iv, 750

healer while occasionally one of them was associated with the greater god at their celebrated sanctuary

Temples of healing

There were many healing temples in the Valley but eventually all the great medical centers were located at the chief capital along the Nile and large numbers of people many traveling long distances and other many pilgrims sought the curative beneficence of their favorite divinity. The remains of the temples of Philae and of Khonsu at Karnak afford ample testimony of the beauty and extent of such shrines and the evidences of the honor and respect paid to the deities presiding over them. The great sanctuary of Thoth at Hermopolis where the festival for the god was held during the long festival between Horus and Seth for the succession¹ was renowned and others of prominence were those of Neith of Nubia of Ptah of Imhotep and of Min at Pnopolis (Ephesus) while although Isis had little part in the politics of Egypt her temple at Koptos was perhaps the most popular of all.

Medical libraries

The healing shrines were reputed to be the depositories of medical lore and the ancient tradition is confirmed by lists of diseases and their cures and by recently discovered evidence from the library (hall of scrolls) at Heliopolis. Papyrus scrolls found in the temple of Ptah¹⁰⁷ and in papyrus scrolls of the library of the temple at Edfu mentioning books which it contained for the turning aside of the cause of disease (Clemens Alexandrinus *Stromata*, vi 4) Clement (*ibid*) fully in accord with ancient traditional belief also refers to forty-two her-

¹⁰ Budg., *Gods*, i 489, also Wiedemann, *Magie und Zauber*, p. 19

¹⁷ Wilkin., *op. cit.*, ii 355-358 also Foucart in *ERE* iv, 751

metic book in the temple at Hermopolis 1x of which (xxxvii xlii) were medical representing Thoth as the inventor of formula for giving remedies. On the walls of sanctuaries were inscriptions and votive tablets in commemoration of miraculous cure and round about within the sacred precincts were temples and statues erected by former patients in grateful recognition of cure effected by the divinity. Here in the house of life (*per 'onkh*) priests and lay brethren who were to practice healing pursued their studies and took their oath (*Harris Magic Papyrus*, vi 10) while a physician was enabled to restore the *per 'onkh* at Sais because his majesty knew the value of this [medical] art.¹⁰

Preparation of the papyri

It was the duty of ruler to continue the work of the good gods who had founded Egypt (Manetho *apud* Eusebios),¹ and since healing had been devised by the divinity it was not subject to improvement by man. The medical papyri the divine books were therefore prepared with meticulous care and old manuscripts were copied by the Scribe of the Double House of life or by the Learned Men of the Magic Library for preservation of their lore and for use at other sanctuaries but no change from the original were allowed only notation or glosses in rubric were made generally on the margins or back relating case of some god or distinguished person such

a prince or a king who had been cured by certain remedies or prescriptions (*Ebers Papyrus*, lxiv 4 lxxvi 15)¹¹

The medical papyri

The chief papyri which are known as medical and that are now available for study and reference are as follows

¹⁰ Given in *ERE* viii 268

¹⁰ Found in *ERE* iv 751

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 750 also *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 359

1 The Kahun Papyru ¹¹ the oldest probably dating from about 2000 B.C. is a short text consisting of only three columns which treat of the symptom diagnosis, and therapeutic of gynecology and veterinary medicine. It contains no magic or incantation and this fact has led a few writers to assume that the practice of its period was empirical and free from magic element but since it is incomplete too much reliance should not be placed upon such an omission which may pertain only to this part of the document. It is interesting to note that the text gives directions for determining the sex of the unborn babe.

Prescription No XXXI Another time if thou see the face green but in the green (?) thou findest things upon her like [she will bring forth a male (?) (child) but if thou see nothing upon her eyes she will not bear ever.

2 The Edwin Smith Papyrus recently announced is superior in scientific value to the Ebers Papyrus which it probably exceeds somewhat in age since it dates from about 1600 B.C. and possibly from the seventeenth century B.C. So far as known it is the oldest nucleus of really scientific knowledge in the world and contains incomparably the most important body of medical knowledge which has survived to us from ancient Egypt or, for that matter from the ancient Orient anywhere ¹² It is a roll 18 1/2 inches long by 13 inches wide with twenty two columns of writing or five hundred lines. On the face of this papyrus which deals with surgery and internal medicine are seventeen columns describing forty eight cases of injury of the upper half of the body (head neck thorax and spine) with a discussion of the examination of patient diagnosis prognosis and treatment with explanation.

¹¹ *The Petrie Papyrus, Hieratic papyrus from Kah and Gorob*, ed F L Griffith, p 10

¹² J H Breasted. *The Edwin Smith Papyrus*, in *NYHSQB*, April, 1922

tory globe after which it ends abruptly. On the back are five pages of magical incantation. It appears that all was written by the same hand but that the sources from which the recto and verso were taken were different.¹¹ Only a preliminary examination of the papyrus has as yet been made and the contents have not thus far been critically studied and interpreted.

3 The Hearst Medical Papyrus,¹¹ which is ascribed to a period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties and which is somewhat earlier than the Ebers consists of eighteen pages at least part of which came from the same source as the Ebers since about one half is similar to that text though not duplicating it. This papyrus contains reference to illness of Re and prescriptions for him and formula and enchantment to be repeated over the sick when taking remedies.

4 The Berlin Papyrus 3033¹¹ the Weicker or, at one time called the Leier Berlin Papyrus and presumed to be of about 1600 B.C. consists of twelve pages containing wonder stories of the performances of magician and orcerer.

5 The Ebers Papyrus,¹¹ the most important except possibly the new Edwin Smith Papyrus was probably written about 1552 B.C. and consists of 110 pages in Greek in different dialect. Coming from Thebes it shows more skill and a deeper knowledge and a more systematic arrangement than others and it gives evidence of having been copied from a collection of documents combining several small writings in one. It deals both with medicine and sur-

¹¹ J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Papyrus* in *REMC*, Paris 1922 pp. 393-394.

¹¹ R. L. Brierley, *The Hearst Medical Papyrus*, Leipzig 1905.

¹¹ E. R. Rieu, *Die Marchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin, 1890.

¹¹ Ebers, *Papyrus Ebers*, *Der Maasse und das Kapitel über die Arzneikunst*, Leipzig 1889. Also Joachim Papyrus Ebers, Berlin 1890.

gery and contain prescriptions for various diseases with incantation and enchantment

6 The Berlin Papyrus 3038¹¹ the Greater Berlin or the Brugsch Papyrus which is of later date and is believed to have been inscribed about 1350 consists of twenty three pages treating of twenty five different medical subjects in much the same manner as the Ebers Papyrus Very curiously the same or practically similar treatment for female sterility contained in this papyrus is found in the article on this subject ($\pi\rho\phi'\rho\nu$) in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*

7 The London Medical Papyrus (British Museum No 10059)¹¹ is of the most recent date and is supposed to have been written about 1000 B.C. It consists of nineteen columns largely medical but with a generous commingling of magic suggestive of an increased tendency to a reliance on the magical arts which is said to have characterized that period This papyrus is in a poor state of preservation

Other papyri

Other texts known as the Leyden Papyrus¹¹ Turin Papyrus¹ Harris Magic Papyrus,¹¹ Louvre Papyrus¹ Boulaq Papyrus¹² Vatican Magic I Papyrus¹ and

¹¹⁷ Wrems, Leipzig 1909 *Der grosse ägyptische Papyrus des Brugsch und M*

¹¹ Wrems, Leipzig 1912 *Der Londoner ägyptische Papyrus des Brugsch* *Hrist*, Leipzig, 1912 also Griffith and Thompson *The Demotic Medical Papyrus of London and Leyden*, London 1904

¹¹ Pleyte *Étude sur un rouleau égyptien du Musée de Leyde*, Leyden 186

¹⁰ Pleyte and Rosellini *Papyrus de Turin*, 2 vols. Leyde 186-187

¹¹ Akmar *Le Papyrus magique Harris*, Upsala 191

¹ Mémoires sur quelques papyrus du Louvre, Paris 1875

¹ Mémoires sur les Papyrus égyptiens du Musée Bouleau, Paris 1871

¹⁴ A. Ermen *Der Zauberpapyrus des Vatikans* in *ZA*, 1893

Mother and Child Papyrus (Berlin Papyrus 3027) ¹ contains an occasional reference to medico-magic subject ¹

Papyri not canonical

While no definite statement is possible it appears improbable that any of the above documents formed part of the hermetic book mentioned by Clement although the latter are believed to have been written at a much later date. It is known that Egyptian practitioners obtained from priests transcripts of the approved healing method and prescription to be used in the authorized manner and these may be such examples but the exact status of the texts under the old régime cannot now be clearly established.

Descriptions of disease in the papyri

It is of interest to note that however crude and erroneous their healing practice may appear to modern minds the ancient Egyptians made such careful observation and gave such clear descriptions that about 250 different diseases may be distinguished and many can be identified for example stomach bowel and bladder complaints asthma angina pectoris anemia hematuria skin disease smallpox pyorrhea alveolaris, cancerous

¹ A. Erm. "Zusammenfassung für Mutter und Kind" in *APAW*, Berlin 1901.

² In addition to the technical work of reference, the following studies published in medical journals are numbered the most important medical papyri being considered from the physician's point of view. C. H. von Kries: "The Medical Features of the Ebers Papyrus" in *JAMA*, 1905, xlv, 1928-1935. J. D. Comrie: "Medicine among the Assyrians and Egyptians in 1500 B.C.," in *EMJ*, 1909, ii, 101-129. J. Offord: "A New Egyptian Medical Papyrus" in *PRSM*, 1912-1913, vi, 97-102. J. Finlayson: "Ancient Egyptian Medicine" in *BMJ*, 1893, i, 748-752, 1014-1016, 1061-1064. B. Holmes and P. G. Rattray: "Medicine in Ancient Egypt," in *CLC*, 1913, cix, 566-570, 590-603, 624-629.

tumor menorrhagi dy menorrhea metriti conjunctiviti ectropion tye and purulent ophthalmia ^{1 7}

Causes of disease

The Egyptian did not deal in theories and their literature afford little information concerning their view of disease but they never resigned themselves to the idea that death was natural and inevitable ¹ Life once begun should continue indefinitely The people had the same belief in the malignant activity of spirits toward mankind as their contemporaries Demons prowled around all time and when disease and death overtook a person, it was the result of curses or attack from an enemy visible or invisible a man with an evil eye an animal or reptile maleficent spirit or ghost of the dead or even an inanimate object and death was practically regarded as assassination or murder The malevolent being gained entrance to the body by supernatural means in an unguarded moment through the eye ears mouth or nose and then made a vicious attack breaking bones sucking the marrow drinking the blood gnawing the intestine heart or lungs and devouring the vital substance ¹ death ensuing unless the intruder was driven out before irreparable damage had been done There were unlucky days and certain seasons of the year were particularly dangerous the intercalary or epagomenal days being fraught with exceptional risks ^{1 0} since on them evil spirit had greater power Numerous harmful germs penetrate the clothing, and especial care must be taken lest infection step in and causes death ¹ Persons born on such days were particularly liable to die of certain maladies and the

^{1 7} Foucart, in *ERE* iv 749

¹ Maipero, *History*, i, 152 ff 308

¹ Foucart in *ERE* iv 750 752

^{1 0} Frazer *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3d edition, 28 note 3 also Budg, *op cit*, ii 10

injunction was given go not forth from thy house from any side of it, whosoever is born on this day shall die of the disease *aat* ^{1 1} Diseases of animals were caused by similar attacks of evil spirits and were cured by the same methods as were used for men ¹ The Egyptian in common with other primitive peoples believed that the great scourges or epidemic (*iātu*), were sent by the god but it seems to have been foreign to their views that deities inflicted disease upon individuals in punishment of sin though it was recognized that such visitation were made in retribution for a personal offense or a penalty for an indignity toward a divinity ¹

Prophylaxis

Although Egypt was considered a salubrious country the people took studious precautions to preserve their health ¹ electing their diet with care and for three successive days each month taking purges emetic and clyster to guard against bowel troubles (Herodotus II 77) They were cleanly bathed frequently and wore white linen garments admirably adapted to the climate Osiris set an example it was a source of great joy that he had the power to lave himself, and both he and his *ka* washed before sitting down to break bread together¹ (cf *Pyramid Texts*, 564 1537) Familiarity with the names of the epagomenal days was a safe method of protecting oneself against their peril (*Leyden Papyrus*, 346 2 6) All the people wore about the neck amulets charm and talismans of stone or knot of cloth on which magic words of power had been inscribed or over which priest had recited magic text ^{1 4} the eye of Horus ' the intact eye

^{1 1} Budg *Magic*, p 227

¹ Maspero *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, p 118

¹ Budg *Gods*, II 118

^{1 4} E N VIII Ch and Amulet (Egyptian) in *ERE* III 430

(*uzant*) which gave health and soundness of sight being the most popular protection against illness.¹ If the books in the library of Edfu for turning aside the causes of disease referred to prophylaxis these customs may easily have been a part of the religious instruction.

Gods suffered from disease

God suffered from maladies in the same manner as men and when ill they applied to their fellow divinities for help, as Horus and Sêth at Hehopolis (*Ebers Papyrus*, II 36 *Hearst Medical Papyrus*, 70 V 9 12 15) Re had sudden diseases of the eye (asumed to have been symbolic of eclipses) together with other ailments and came near death when a scorpion stung his heel.¹³ Isis was afflicted with an abscess of the breast following the birth of Horus and Horus suffered from headache and internal pains¹³ and not only had dysentery and an anal weakness but would have lost his life from a scorpion sting had it not been for the prompt help of Isis and Thoth.¹ The liability of gods to disease was officially recognized and in many temples were prescriptions both for divinities and for men one of which had been composed by the invalid Re (*Ebers Papyrus*, xlv1). The deities defended themselves more effectively than man because of their superior ability to concentrate their energies against their enemies but the methods of cure were identical.¹

Physicians

The chief physicians (*sunu ouu*) of the Pharaohs from

¹³ Muller, *op cit*, p 91

¹³ Budge *op cit*, I 372 ff II 214

¹⁷ *Leyde Papyrus*, d Pl yt I o N ville *Etudes dédiées à Lee* 18, pp 75 ff

¹³ Budge *op cit*, II, 208 ff I o H Brug ch Ein g ogr phi ch Studi ,” in *ZA*, 1879 xvii 1 ff

the Memphite Dynasties to the Ptolemies were high ecclesiastic.¹ The physician (*sunu*) who might be a layman attached to the temple was not the same as the magician who was a priest: the former healed mechanically and by book; the priest on the other hand was acting through his own religious feeling.¹⁴ Herodotus (II 84) described the physician as specialist, each one taking care of a certain class of diseases and some were concerned with only one malady but having been instructed in the divine methods, they had no personal choice in treatment and were obliged under risk of severe penalties even of death to follow the prescribed rule which finally became canonical (Diodorus I 82) although Aristotle (*Politica*, III 5) thought if no improvement was noted after four days of treatment the physicians were allowed to change their method. However the practice of healing at least under the native Egyptian régime was essentially the monopoly of those who possessed a higher deeper knowledge of the secret nature of things and held the power to control mysterious forces and to ward off invisible peril.¹⁵ The magician priest especially the lector priests (*kher hab*) (*Brugsch Papyrus*, VII 10) since they had discovered incantations (*shmet*) and were endowed with the gift of prophecy (*London Medical Papyrus* VIII 12).¹

Healing methods

The sacerdotal methods of healing consisted in magical religious rites (*hike'*) ceremonies and formulas which brought forth the mysterious miraculous power of deities and other supernatural beings and which centered about the idea of exorcism of expelling the unseen mali-

¹ Foucart, in *ERE* IV, 752

¹⁴⁰ Gardiner in *ERE* VIII, 268 l. o. Wilkinson, *op cit*, II, 354-358

¹⁴¹ Boylston, *op cit* p. 124

ciou pirt which cau ed di ease Appeal to the god for the cure of disea e were made orally or in writing The magician priest approached the patient in formal manner m de hi examination of the indication of di e e and followed with the ceremonial form for diagno 1 o h lt thou say a sufferer with (naming the di e e) after which he cl ified the ca e according to hi progno 1 ' n ailment I will treat an ailment I will contend with or an ilment I will not treat ¹ Then came the treatment which consi ted of incantation prayers and sacrifice and po sibly the giving of ome remedy, with the aid of all the devices and acce some of magic oral and manual command conjuration threat enings coaxing aspersion pells and fumigations the incantation and ge tures being repeated four times ¹ All these formulas and act of the magici n were up posed to have some my tic or ymbolic m aning which however well under stood by the priest erved to impre the people It wa deemed advi able if not e ential for the magician to know the name of the demon concerned in each case When known it was called by name and upon the authority of deity or (generally) deitie of uperior power who e names the magician claimed to know it wa commanded or persuaded to come forth and depart and to be exorcised The pecialization in vogue among the Egyptian as umed that the body wa divided into thirty ix part each of which was in charge of a certain god (There 1 no limb of his without a god *Leyden Papy rus*, 348 verso 6 2) and so invoking the e they heal the diseases of the limbs (Origenes *contra Celsum* viii, 58) thi re ponsibility of the god continuing in the after

¹⁴ Br a t d in *NYHSQB*, p 15 l o Gardiner in *ERE* viii 267 Erman, *Life n A ci t Egypt*, p 358

¹ Muller *op ct*, p 199

life¹⁴⁴ On occasion the magician would put on a disguise and would appear as the god himself imitating him in voice and gesture and employing his relics and charms to deceive the demon and to cause him to depart Such deception like the use of the secret names of the deities whether obtained properly or by stealth was not considered an impiety or an offence against the divinity¹⁴

Remedies

Remedies (*pakhret*) were commonly employed to assist the magic formulas for exorcism and for the cure of disease and in many cults they were revealed by the gods in dreams, such visions being regarded with religious reverence¹⁴⁶ The gods had devised some of these remedies for themselves or for other deities (*Hearst Medical Papyrus*, pp 9 10, V 7 9 10, 12 15) Drugs of many kinds were used vegetable mineral and animal, and while some were loathsome, as the urine of animals¹⁴⁷ the greater number were wholesome time having proved the value of a goodly number of those then employed such a castor oil aloes mint myrrh copper lead, salt goose oil and fats opium coriander, turpentine cedar hyoseyamus and others that are still used in pharmacy¹⁴ The magic with which they were given did not hide their intrinsic healing properties from physicians who were also equipped with panaceas (*Ebers Papyrus*, xlvi x xlvii)

a true remedy on many occasions (*Leyden Papyrus* 347 xiii 2 3) Drugs were given internally or were applied externally usually in combination numbers being

¹⁴⁴ Wiedemann *op cit*, p 24 10, Gardiner, 1 *ERE* viii, 265
Foucart in *ERE* iv, 750

¹⁴ Foucart, *op cit*

¹ Wilkin *op cit*, ii 356

¹⁷ Griffith *P tri Papyrus*, pl 5 1 1

¹⁴ Budg *The Syrian Book of Magic*, 1 cxxxiv

believed to increase their potency and there were many long prescriptions. All these were prepared in conformity with traditional formula to the accompaniment of prayer and incantation word to be said in the preparing of medicine for all part of the body of the patient (*Ebers Papyrus*, p 1)¹⁴ and there were also incantations of the measure when taking it to measure prescription (*Hearst Medical Papyrus*, p 12 XIII 12 17) as well as for oil (*ib*, XIV 4) beside chapter for drinking remedies (*Brugsch Papyrus*, p 20 line 9)¹ and for applying them externally (*Ebers Papyrus*, I 1 11). Remedies without magic were valueless or failed of their full effect and the incantations were frequently written down washed off and drunk^{1 1}. Healing had developed with magic it was inseparably connected with it and all evidence indicates that it was never emancipated from it¹.

Medical incantations

The function of the medical papyrus is stated in the opening paragraph of the Ebers Papyrus. This is a book for healing all disease and the two incantations following are examples found in that document.

Formula for drinking a remedy Welcome remedy welcome which destroyeth the trouble in thine my heart and in the members of my limb. The magic (*hike*) of Horus is victorious in the remedy (recto page 2 line 12).

Another [remedy] for driving away the cataract in the eyes Come verdigris ointment. Come verdigris ointment. Come thou verdant one. Come afflux from the eye of Horus. Come thou efflu-

¹⁴ Joachim *op cit*, p 1

^{1 0} F. J. Chabas, 'La Médicine des anciens Egyptiens' in *ME*, I, 1862 p 67

^{1 1} Müller, *op cit*, pp 83 199

¹ Foucart, in *ERE* IV, 750

The following incantation for the protection and cure of a child are found in another papyru ¹

Protective charm for the protection of the body to be recited over a child when the un rī e

Thou do t rī e Re

Thou do t rī e

She [the de d one] will not t ke her on upon her lap

Thou do t ve me my lord Re

Say [NN] (fem) born of [NN]

I do not urrender thee

I do not give [my] burden to the robber nd th female robber of
the realm of the dead

My hand lie upon thee

Mv ealī thy protection

Re doth rī e

Extend O thou protection

[Extract] My hand lie upon thī child and th h nd of I ī
lie upon him a he lay her hand upon her on Horu

[Extract] To drive way the *nsw* from ll th limb of child

Thou art Horu and thou halt wake Horu Thou rt th
living Horu I drive way the malady that ī in thy body nd th
mal dy (?) th t ī in thy limb [etc]

The Hearst Medical Papyru contain incantation for broken bones A pre cription for uniting a broken bone the first day ¹ and the following inc ntation from the London Medical Papyru ī believed to have been de igned for wounds ^{1 7}

O Horu O Re O Shu O Qêb O O irī O Hek w O Nut pr ī
be unto you, ye great god who hav brought the heav nly one (?)

¹ Erman in *APAW*, pp 43 44 ver o 3 lī 8 to p g 4 līn 2,
p 15, recto 2 līn s 6 10 p 19, recto 2, lī e 10 to p g 5 līn 7

¹ R ī ner, *H rst M dīc P pyrus*, p 12 XIV 13 14 15

^{1 7} Wr ī kī *Der Lo doner medīzu sch P pyru und d r P pyru*
He rst, pp 148, 187, r eto 8 līn 1 7

to th underworld ye who gr nt that he wander to thi region
 y who conduct Re when he cend out of th hori on y who
 ride long in the ev ning b rk nd pa along in the morning
 bark Come ye unto me ri unto me unite your elve with me
 for ll ort of evil hath bef llen me ll ort of evil $\frac{1}{2}$ mal di
 all ort of evil h j t m ladie which are in thi body [of mine]
 nd in all the e limb of mine

Tests for sterility

The Brug ch or Berlin Papyrus 3038 contain two for
 mula for determining whether or not a woman is sterile
 the first (verso p 1 lines 3 4 section 193) is follow ¹

To di tinguish a wom n who will be r child from a wom n
 who will not be r child Watermelon pounded, to be atu
 r ted thoroughly with th milk of a mother of boy and to be
 m de into m di h To be eaten by the woman If he vomit
 he will be r child if he ha flatu he will never bear a child

This ame prescription in slightly different form is
 found in the treatise On Sterility in the *Corpus Hippo-
 craticum*, of nearly a thousand years later and Diogene
 L rtios (viii 87) offers the explanation that Eudoxo
 a Knidian physician and mathematician spent fifteen
 month with the Egyptian priest at Helipoli during
 the reign of Nektanebos (384 362 B C) ¹ The Greek text
 (ed Kuhn) mentions two ingredient which should be
 u ed with the milk one σικύα a cucumber or gourd like
 plant the other βούρυπον He ychos explain the latter
 component as a plant (βοράνης ὄσ) nd in view of

¹⁵ Wre in ki *D r grosse medizinische Papyr s de Berli er M
 seu s*, text p 45, tr p 106

¹ Strabo tate (XVII 1 29 p 805 C) that Eudoxo was put d
 to hav om to Egypt with Plato and to hav lived at Helipolis for
 thirte n y ar nd Plutarch (*de Isid t Osir de*, 6 10) r f rs to book
 th t he wrot

p age of Athen 108 (ix 395 A) it is inferred that it was odoriferous¹

The second formula (ver o p 2 line 25 section 199) runs thus¹¹

Another text whether a woman will bear a child [or] will not bear child Wheat and pelt which woman daily wet with her urine like date and like the baked food it in two eck If both of them grow she will bear child if the wheat grow it will be a boy if the pelt grow it will be a girl if they do not grow she will not bear child

General remarks

During the last millennium B.C. following the decline of the New Empire and during the Saite régime when attempts were being made to stem the course of the rapid disintegration of ancient Egyptian civilization by revival of primitive traditions and custom in their original purity¹ the native healing practices present no new features except a corresponding decline in confidence in

¹⁰⁰ The nature of this plant is not clearly set forth Chabas ME, I 1862 pp 9 ff gives it a *bat t*, or Bull *batatu*, Brugsch (*Notice relative née d'un traité médical et t du XIV^m siècle avant notre ère*, Leipzig 1863 p 17) writes Hrb Boudodouka," etc (see note), and referred to it in AMWL, 1853, pp 44 45 Rouff ('Not on the medical papyrus of Berlin' in ZA, 1873 i 123 ff) claim that the characteristics are quite well be described *buteru*, and tried to connect this with β'τρ of Hippocrates while Wreszinski translates it as 'Wassermelonen' (watermelon), and for an ancient Egyptian picture of the vegetable Wiedemann *Das alte Agypten*, p 278 Latr' (*Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, viii, 415) construes β'τρ as butter which Rouff regards as an error. Note In commenting on this subject Dr William F Egerton (in personal communication) says 'It would seem that the last part k' ('ka according to Brugsch's system) meaning 'of bulls, bull, was not an essential part of the noun. May one not suppose the bull melon meant 'big melon

¹¹ Wreszinski, *op cit*, text, p 47 tr p 110

¹ Breasted, *op cit*, p 365

old methods and a like tendency to decadence. Tradition ally the Egyptian avoided the use of the customs of other peoples (Herodotos ii 91) but the invasions from Asia and Greece with incidental foreign rule forced many changes, and these are doubtless reflected in the writings of classical authors who were unable to gain a clear insight into their more ancient native methods of religious therapeutics. Ptolemy Soter in sympathy with Hellenic influences reorganized religion and introduced the adoration of Serapis in the place of that of Osiris Apis (Osorhap). Although coldly received his worship through its association with that of Isis and under official pressure, made rapid headway in the North and his healing cult gained popularity especially among foreigners through the prominence given his dream oracle with interpretations of vision by priests in which appeared intimations of what are now known as hypnotism and suggestive therapeutics.^{1 3} In these Ptolemaic times foreign influences were dominant and the old Egyptian art of divine healing which had been declining for several centuries now passed into oblivion leaving no definite information for contemporaries and for modern investigators only vague and imperfect records which have recently been discovered.

Profane Egyptian medicine

Turning aside for a moment to the more practical profane side of the native medical practice which is beyond the scope of this study it is of interest to consider that

Egyptian medicine was at its best in diagnosis and in its physiological speculations the *materia medica*, on the other hand remained permanently under the influence of magical conception.¹ The Egyptian practiced sur

¹ Hamilton *Incubatio*, p 105

^{1 3} Joachim, *op cit*, pp 99 100 103 10 Gardiner, in *ERE* viii 268

gery performing operation with flint knife a vene-
 cation circumcision¹ castration and lithotomy¹ Like
 all primitive people their civilization was permeated
 with gross and childish beliefs side by side with their
 noblest highest conception of ethics and religion They
 studied nature laws but they did not theorize or at-
 tempt to deduce general principle from observed facts
 and were content with a traditional conservative em-
 piricism¹⁷ Their facts intermingled with the mystic
 of their faith were not divulged to their contemporaries
 and the writings of classical author of the Græco Roman
 period bear testimony of failure fully to comprehend
 what they observed and were told The Egyptian did
 however succeed in laying broad foundation for future
 medicine from observed facts and while their visitor
 gained only a superficial understanding of their attain-
 ments they proved in reality a mine from which the
 ancients borrowed freely copying and adapting too often
 without credit to the originator and teacher Plato¹
 said by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata*, 1 15) to have
 remarked concerning the Greeks that Whatever we re-
 ceive from the barbarian we improve and perfect and
 it is believed that they were indeed indebted to Egyptian
 physician for many valuable medical suggestion

The old priest physician

The priest physicians of ancient Egypt were persons
 of education and of social standing famed throughout the
 Orient from earliest historic time Homer bears testi-
 mony for his own day in saying (*Odyssey*, iv 231 232) of
 Egypt There each physician is skilled above all others

¹ G Foucart "Circumcision (Egyptian)" in *ERE* iii 670 77
 Budg, *Gods*, i 119, Wilkinson, *op cit*, iii, 385 386

¹⁷ Budg *The Syrian Book*, i cxxxiv also Muller 'Surgery in
 Egypt,' in *ER*, Wingate, 1906 1910

¹⁷ Schnitzer *Kultur und Denken der alten Aegypter*, pp 17 ff

men for truly he 1 of the race of Paian The repute of the kill of the priest phy ician was spread along the caravan routes farther ea t (Herodoto m 1) and Egyp tian prescriptions have been found in the archive of Nineveh The general testimony of writers of the la t centuries B C is rather specific that the physician of the Nile valley of whom a fine portrait 1 drawn for us by Chairemon (*Fragmenta historicorum Græcorum*, ed Muller m 497 Strabo XVII 1 29 805 C) still stood forth a noble and beneficent figures of Egyptian civili tion

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

Few of the many gods of ancient Egypt were prominent a healers Doubtle s a large number of deitie practiced the cur tive art as a part of their general protective beneficence of which little or nothing is recorded but much of the information which has come down to us is only vague and suggestive It is impossible to make a list of the healing divinitie which may be regarded a even approximately complete and the deities who are here discu sed some of them the chief gods of the pan theon and with other perhaps more important function are set forth on the hypothesis that the practices in their cults represent the religious healing customs of ancient Egypt

Anuqet	Neith
Apis	Nekhbet
Be , or Besa	Nephthys or Nebt hô
Êpet or Uêref	Ptah
Hat hô	Sekhmet
Horus Hor or Horu	Serapis or Osor hap
I m hotep	Thoth, Thout, or Tahuti
Isis or Êset	Ubastet or Bastet
Khonsu or Khon	Uzoit Uazit or Buto (Uto)

Minor divinities of Child birth and Nursing

Heqet
Meskhenet

Renenutet or Rannu

ANUQET

ANUQET a goddess of the South of the region of the cataracts and apparently of Nubian origin was the third of the triad of Elephantine (Abu) Khnûmu and Satet being the other members. She was a deity of fertility and like Heqet (the later consort of Khnûmu) was a goddess of child birth while at Dakkeh (Per Selket), the Greek Pselchis she was represented as the nurse of a king¹ and was a giver of life and of all health and of all joy of the heart¹. She was one of the goddesses of an island near the First Cataract on which was her temple the center of her worship whence she was called Anuqet the lady of Satet (i.e., the Island of Seheil)¹. She had the same attributes as her sister goddess Satet who was worshipped with her and she wore a feather crown of unusual form arranged in a circle suggestive of her foreign origin. Anuqet was equated with Nephthys (Nebt hô) and the Greeks identified her with Hestia¹⁷.

APIS

APIS (pronounced Hap) the great god of Memphis and one of the deities of Egypt from early dynastic times was worshipped in the form of a bull,¹⁷¹ this being the incarnation of Osiris, the beautiful image of the soul of Osiris (Plutarch *op cit*, 30) the son of Ptah and later the living replica of Ptah. The animal repre-

¹ Wilkison *op cit*, III 181

¹ Budge *Gods*, II 57-58

¹⁷ Muller *op cit*, p. 131

¹⁷¹ *Ib*, p. 12

enting the god wa carefully chosen being recogni ed by characteristic black and white pot a triangle or square on the forehead an eagle on the back or a crescent on the flank (Pliny *Historia Naturalis*, viii, 71) and double hair on the tail (Ailiano *Historia Animalium* xi 10 Herodotos iii 28) When he had been found he wa escorted to Memphis where with much pomp he wa installed in hi temple the Apisæum a the holy god the living Apis¹⁷ and when he died hi mummified body was buried with elaborate ceremonies in the Serapeum or in a rock tomb near the pyramid of Sakkâra¹⁷ Osiri wa blended with the hawk Sokari a deity of the dead rel ted to Apis and later with Ptah a Osiri Apis (O or Hap) who became Serapis in the Greek period¹⁷ The bull Apis wa con ulted for divination and Pliny (*loc cit*) and Ammianu Marcellinu (xx 14) relate that the omen wa good or bad according a Apis accepted or refused th food offered by worshippers¹⁷⁵ Apis was a healing divinity one to whom the origin of medicine was ascribed (Eusebios *Præparatio Evangelica*, X, vi) Pausania (VII xxii 3 4) ays that the manner of consulting th god wa the ame in Egypt as in Greece the lamp wer filled with oil money was placed on the altar¹⁷ and with his mouth to the bull s ear the suppliant whi pered hi request drawing his answer from the fir t word of the fir t person whom he met

Although Apis was usually depicted a a bull he wa l o repre ented with a human body and the head of

¹⁷ Mull r, *loc cit*

¹⁷ Budg *op cit*, ii 350 l o Strabo XVII i 33 p 807 C

¹⁷⁴ Mull r, *op cit*, p 8

¹⁷ Foucart, *ERE* iv 7 3

¹⁷ See *nfr*, p g 332 Th e ugur r f r p cilly to th cl i l p mod Egypt h d no in g until ft r h had been conquer d by Pri (525 c)

bull wearing globe symbolizing the moon between the
horn ¹⁷⁷

BES OR BESA

B , though originally a foreign deity either from Arabia or more probably from Central Africa and deriving his myth from Nubia ¹⁷ had been adopted into the pantheon from early dynastic time the first mention of him being in the Pyramid Text (no 1786) Recent studies tend to the view that he was a purely human god of negro or negroid character and that he was in origin a person of magic power, personified as a divinity and introduced into the pantheon to execute special dances designed for protection and to remove bad influence evil gnomes and monsters of all sort ¹⁷ Thus he appears as a deity of pleasure mirth laughter music and dancing amusing while protecting, children and their nurses He strangled or devoured serpent and caught dangerous animals while his image was placed above the doors of sleeping room to keep away noxious beast and evil spirits The most ancient image of the divinity which date from the Middle Empire often represent him as holding a serpent in each hand in the rôle of protecting infant He became a companion of Epet (Uêret) as a protector of child birth and children and is frequently portrayed with her in the birth chamber of princesses as in a painting dating from about 1500 B.C. found at Deir el Bahri ¹⁷

During the Saite epoch the image of the deity multiplied and they became more varied receiving a number of accessories many of which were symbolic of other divinities and which were assumed to augment his mysterious power ¹⁸ At Thebes he was represented as wear

¹⁷⁷ Budg *op cit*, II 346 351 also Wilkin on *op cit*, III 86 89

¹⁷ Budg *op cit* II 284 288, also Wilkin on, *op cit*, III, 148 150

¹⁷ Budg, *op cit*, II, 285

¹⁸ G. J. Quir, "Nouvelles origines du dieu Bes in *RTPA*, 1915
xxxvii 114 118

ing emblems of war but although this has been construed indicating that he was a god of slaughter it is probable that these arms were for protection or for attack on animals rather than for aggression. Armed with sword and shield and wearing a panther's skin he performed dances which were like the warrior dances of equatorial Africa. Represented with full face as an ugly dwarf with goggle eyes flat nose thick lips protruding tongue beard haggard brows short bent legs and the grotesque figure of a mountebank, Bes, like other dwarfs of Egypt has been regarded by writers on medical iconography as an example of achondroplasia. The Metternich stele gives proof that the head of Bes was a mask.

Although widely worshipped among the lower classes Bes is not mentioned in inscriptions of the Græco-Roman epoch.^{1 ob} He was associated with magic and with it re-
crudescence in the late period he became so prominent that he appears to have ousted Serapis from the temple at Abydos where an oracle flourished until it was suppressed by Constantine II while in Roman times he was worshipped at the Serapeum at Memphis where divination by incubation for healing was practiced. Bes was placed among the stars corresponding with the serpent-trangling constellation Ophiuchos (Serpentarius) of the classical world.^{1 1}

ÊPET OR UÊRET

ÊPET, a strange goddess of foreign importation probably from Central Africa appear in a picture from the temple of King Sethos I of a constellation near Ursa Major the old name being Ox Leg or Club or Striker. She is portrayed as a composite being standing upright sometimes crowned with plume or wearing the diadem.

^{1 ob} J. G. Miln 'Græco-Egyptian Religion, in *ERE* vi 383

^{1 1} Muller *op cit*, pp 61 ff

tween two horn and a having element which belong to the crocodile the lion, and to man a much a to the hippopotamu with a trong pointed head a straight mouth and a double row of small, sharp teeth human breast the enormou body of a hippopotamu (perhap pregnant) and the paw of a lion She wa a creation of a magic order with a terrifying aspect to frighten away hostile and malevolent pirit and he like Be had the duty of protecting children from the moment of birth through their early defen ele year ¹ Monument show that there were a dozen Êpet each pre iding over a month ¹ It is believed that at one time he was widely worshipped since the month Epiphi wa named for her whence her name Uêret which appear in Greek a Thouéris (the Great One) ^{1 4} and she is assimilated with many divinitie She was a benevolent deity the mistress of talismans helpful in parturition and a protectress from illness and she appear each morning at the birth of the sun and al o in the evening at his death while in a Pyramid Text she is represented as a divine nurse Be who became her companion, wa sometime regarded as her husband and in a picture from the temple of D ir el Bahri he is shown standing with him beside the couch at the supposed birth of the daughter to the queen of Thutmo e I ¹

HAT HOR

HAT HÔR (House of Horus *ie*, where the sun lives in the sky) one of the most ancient divinities of the Egyptian pantheon was first a goddess of the Eastern Sky and then

¹ G Jéquier, "Thou'ri in *RTPA*, 1915 vii 118 120

¹ G D ressy, "Thou'ri et M khenit" in *ib*, 1912 xxxiv 18
193

^{1 4} Off n spell d To ri

¹ Mull r, *op ct*, pp 59 62 l o Budg , *op ct*, ii 235 35

of the whole heaven finally being numbered among the comic deities. She was the Mistress of Heaven the counterpart of Re and more frequently the consort of Horu the Elder. As the Mistress of Heaven she sat beside the Persea tree the celestial tree sacred to her¹ and as a goddess of the Underworld she received the dead bestowed new life upon them, and from the fruit of the tree gave them drink and heavenly food. She was the deity of love the patroness of women joy and music and was not only equated with Astarte and Aphrodite but was identified with all other female divinities especially with Nekhbet Uzoit Ubastet and Neith who were sometime referred to as goddesses of child birth. Thus she was a protectress of the parturient and of mother and represented all that was best in women a daughter wife and mother while she was even multiplied into seven Hathors who foretold the future of every child at birth.

Hathor was accorded the most extravagant titles such as mother of the world and creator of the heavens of the earth and of everything in them. The most laudatory salutations were used in paying homage to her in worship and given every attribute she was worshipped throughout Egypt under many titles or names of other divinities as Hathor at Panopolis and Neith at Sai although her home and the center of her worship were at Dendera in Upper Egypt. The cow was sacred to her and she was represented as a cow or as having a human body and the head of a cow with a globe (the solar disk) between her horns^{1 7}.

HORUS, HOR OR HORU

Horus was a generic term for very many deities of the Egyptian pantheon all of whom were variants of essen-

¹ Muller *op cit*, pp 37 39 42

^{1 7} Budge *op cit*, 1 428 438 467

tially two per onalitie Horu the Elder (Har uêr the Aroueris of the Greek) and Horu the Younger or Horus the Child (Har pe khrad the Harpokrate of the Greeks)

Horu the Elder was the on of Re nd Hat hôr or of Qêb and Nut and w s the brother of Osiris I is, Sêth and Nephthy born on the econd of the five intercalary day ¹ an old hymn copied on a papyru about 310 c containing the following line ¹

Qêb and Nut begat O ırı Horu (the one before the eyele) (?)

Sêth I is and Nephthy from one womb
One of them after the other

He wa a solarized divinity connected with the theology of Helopolis Horus of the Horizon (H r akhti) who prepared the way for the sun god Re the falcon who e ymbol the winged disk was seen in the sky Horus the face of the heavens by day as contra ted with Sêth the face of the heaven by night ^{1 0} was one of the very olde t deitie of the pantheon ¹⁹¹ and hi ancient and princip l eat of worship in Lower Egypt wa at Edfu though it i quite probable that the earlier nd perhaps original center of hi cult was at Hierakonpoli (Nekken) the City of Hawks in the South ^{1 1} At Ombo (Ombite) he was the chief of a triad ¹

Horu the Younger or Horus the Child wa the post humous son of Osiris by Isis the reincarnation of Osiri the third member of the Osirian triad and one of the prin cipal divinities of the Osirian circle of the Underworld uperseding Anubis as the conductor of souls although by a confusion he was al o referred to as a solar deity the

¹ Frazer *The Sc pego t*, pp 340 ff

¹ Muller *op cit*, p 69

¹ Brea t d *History*, p 36 Budg , *op cit*, 1 467

^{1 1} Müller *op cit*, pp 27 101 102

¹ P tri , in *ERE* v 245

Rising Sun, to whom were given the two eyes of Re¹ In the late dynastic period, when the worship of Osiris and Isis had become dominant Horus absorbed the attribute of all Horuses and in him was finally blended every variant personality from Horus the Elder to the least insignificant Beginning with the New Empire Horus became more and more important and though mentioned by different names he was identified and worshipped with all the deities of the pantheon^{1 4} while the Greek equated him with Apollo

Harpocrates the Greek name of a variant of Horus the Child was a late development who with Serapis and Isis was the third member of the divine triad at Alexandria Philae and Fayum and was worshipped with Isis at Panopolis¹ He had the functions of Horus and in Ptolemaic times assumed the attributes of the local deities with whom Amon Re had been identified and even those of this deity at the center of his worship at Thebes Without temple he was worshipped as a deity of the lower classes and of the home and was often represented as a young boy standing between Isis and Nephthys or as a child seated on a lotus flower with a lock of hair on the right side of his head and holding his finger to his lips This figure has been misconstrued as commanding the faithful to be silent concerning the mysteries of their religion¹ and was so interpreted by the Greeks who some time called the deity Sigalos equating him with Akesi Telesphoros and Euamerion of the retinue of Asklepios (Plutarch *op cit*, 19 68)¹⁹⁷

The mother of Horus taught him the arts of magic the

¹ Muller *op cit*, p 83

¹ Budg, *op cit*, 1 486

Milne in *ERE* vi, 379

¹ Muller *op cit*, p 243

^{1 7} Wilkin on *op cit*, iii, 129 132

maladies of mankind and their cure and he rendered signal service in healing by his oracle (Diodoros 1 25) Horus of Letopolis (Khem) was the chief physician in the house of Re (*Turin Papyrus*, 124 5) and one of his most important sanctuaries of healing was situated there other well known temples being at Edfu Tanis (Zanet) Philæ and Abydos while he was especially venerated at Heliopolis

Horus the Child was the subject of some of the most venerated and popular myths of Egypt. As the son of Osiris and Isis his life was sought by Seth his father's bitter enemy and murderer and Isis saved him only by hiding in the papyrus swamp near Buto where he was born. While in the rushes he was bitten by a scorpion and was *in extremis* when found by Isis who called upon Re in the heavens to save him whereupon leaving his Boat of Millions of Years in mid sky he sent Thoth who with his magic words of power restored the child to life¹. When Horus had grown to manhood undertaking to be avenged on the murderer of his father and to establish his own legitimacy he engaged in a three days' battle with Seth who was defeated and lost his virility while Horus himself was deprived of an eye which however was restored when Thoth spat upon the wound and healed it¹. Seth was in danger of forfeiting his life but was saved by the interference of Isis upon whom Horus turned in anger and cut off her head which Thoth replaced with the head of a cow² or according to Plutarch (*op cit*, 19) removed from it the symbols of her authority. Later when Osiris was vindicated of the charges made by Seth before the great tribunal of the gods at Heliopolis Horus

¹ Budge *Misc.*, pp 133 136 also for text in parallel *id*, *Gods*, II 233 ff

¹ Breasted *Development*, pp 29 31

² Muller *op cit*, p 126, also Budge *op cit*, I 48 I 212

succeeded to the inheritance and the throne of his father receiving overignty over the whole world ¹

Horus was one of the most universally recognized beloved and worshipped deities of the pantheon. The hawk was sacred to him, and he was usually represented with a human body and the head of a falcon being called the hawk-headed Horus or he was pictured as a child in the arms of Isis or some other goddess and occasionally a boy (Harpokrates) standing by her side ²

IMHOTEP

IMHOTEP the architect of King Teti (Zoser) of the Third Dynasty (circa 2900 B.C.) the builder of the Sakkâra Pyramid and a trolger of the priest of Re and a distinguished leech was renowned for his wisdom and became a patron of learning of scholars and especially of physicians. After the New Kingdom (1580 B.C.) writers made libation to him and gradually losing his humanity he was deified after the Persian period (525 B.C.) and elevated to the rank of a healing divinity. In his divine character he was the Son of Ptah and of Sekhmet and having displaced their son Neferthem was made the third member of the great Memphite triad. Related to Thoth in function Imhotep occasionally absorbed his funerary duties and as a scribe of the god he was the author of word of power which protected the dead ³. He was also closely related to the deified ages Amonhotep and Teos ⁴ who were associated with healing.

Imhotep He who cometh in peace owed his fame and

¹ Brsted *op cit*, pp 33-37. Also Budge *op cit*, I 489

² Budge *op cit*, I, 46-49

Smith in *ERE* VI 650-651

Budge *op cit*, I 522

⁴ Boylston *op cit*, pp 166-16

power to his skill in the healing art. He was the good physician both of deities and of men, the god who sent sleep to those who were suffering and in pain, and those who were afflicted with any kind of disease formed his especial care.²⁰ He was the divinity of physician and of all those who were occupied with the mingled science of medicine and magic. His suppliants usually received information of the curative remedy in dream by incubation as shown by epigraphs and related in tales (Diodoro 1.25) and in the vision the deity usually began by identifying the suppliant and then revealed the directions for treatment.²⁷ Satm relates that his wife Mahituaskhit appealed to the god for relief from sterility, prayed and slept in his temple and dreamed that he told her to pull living colocasia plant leaves and all and making a potion to give it to her husband. This she did and he conceived at once.²⁸ Another case of sterility cured by a remedy similarly revealed in a dream during temple sleep is recorded on the Memphite Stele of Psherenptah of the Augustan period.²⁹

The cult of Imhotep was originally attached to his tomb near the Pyramid of Sakkâra and his earliest important sanctuary was erected near the Serapeum close to Memphis. After the New Empire was established his worship grew rapidly in popularity and importance and during the Saite period and the later Ptolemaic age he was greatly honored. He was revered and adored in his own city as well as at Thebes, Edfu and elsewhere. He was prominent in the temple of Kasr el Agûz erected to Teos, a sage or god similar to Thoth, while the Ptolemies built a small but beautiful temple to him on the island of

Budg., *op. cit.*, 1, 523

²⁷ Foucart, in *ERE* v, 35-3

Ma p ro *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 146-147

Foucart in *ERE* v 35

Phil upon which was placed the following inscription
 Great one Son of Ptah the creative god the god
 of divine forms in temple who giveth life unto all men
 the mighty one of wonder the maker of times who
 cometh unto him that calleth upon him wheresoever he
 may be who giveth sons to the childless, the chief lector
 priest (*kher hab, i e*, wisest and most learned one) the
 image and likeness of Thoth the wise one ¹

The bronze figures of this hero god in the museum are
 all of the Twenty-second Dynasty and represent him
 a bald man sometimes wearing a cap seated with a book
 or roll of papyrus on his knee ¹¹ and without any of the
 customary ornamentation of Egyptian deities. Imhotep
 was called Imuthe by the Greeks who identified him with
 their Aklepio (Stobaios *Eclogæ*, I xli 44) and his
 temples were termed Aklepieia ¹

ISIS OR ÊSET

Isis, one of the very ancient goddesses of Egypt the most
 beloved and generally worshipped a protective deity
 held place in the affections of the people above that of
 all other female deities. Born on the fourth epagomenal
 day, she was the daughter of Qêb and Nut the sister of
 Osiris, Horus the Elder Sêth and Nephthys the wife of
 Osiris and the mother of the Child Horus. Becoming the
 consort and mother of the sun god, with the solarization
 of Osiris he was identified with all other celestial god-
 deesses and was most intimately assimilated with Hat-
 hôr ¹ while he was also one of the chief divinities of the

¹⁰ Budge *op cit*, i 523

¹¹ E. n. *Ägyptische Religion*, p. 174

¹ Müller *op cit*, p. 171. See further details consult G. Foucart
 I. Imhotep, in *RHR*, 1903, xlviii, 362-371. K. Sethe. Imhotep der
 Aklapios der Ägypter in *UGAA*, 1902 II, ff.

¹ Müller *op cit*, p.

Underworld the Kingdom of the Dead and the consort of Osiris appear with him in the judgment scene represented by Maat and receive the title Goddess of the West as a result of her identification with Hathor. In her original character she was the rich black soil of Egypt fertilized by the Nile¹ but later she was conceived the goddess of fertility and love the close friend and protectress of women in all the vicissitudes of their lives and was equated with Anat Aphrodite Demeter and Persephone. Originally independent political change united her with Osiris but he was always the more popular of the two and more a divinity of the home and person than of the temple and priest. Until the Twenty-sixth Dynasty he was seldom shown as a nursing mother but thereafter the worship of the mother and child became increasingly general and during the Roman period was widely spread.²

In the *Book of the Dead* and in the Pyramid Texts Isis is associated with many of the most important myths of the Egyptian religion. As the faithful wife of Osiris she sought and found the body of her husband which had been dismembered and scattered by Seth his murderer bringing it into his mouth she restored him and receiving his seed she secreted him in the papyrus swamps against the further enmity of Seth and there aided by Thoth and attended by her sister Nephthys and by other goddesses of child birth she brought forth Horus nurturing him among the reeds.³

Isis gained her unusual power as a magician by means of stratagem through which she learned the secret name of the supreme god Re when he was old and feeble. Originally a humble member of his household she mixed his

¹ Maspero, *History*, I 132

² Petrie in *ERE* v 246

³ Budg., *op cit*, II 233 ff. Also Muller, *op cit*, p 116

pittle with earth and created aorpion which was placed in the path until Re should walk forth, when it tunc him on the heel Not knowing what the trouble was and feeling himself dying he called loudly for help where upon Isis among others came with profuse protestation of ympathy During his extreme suffering she begged Re to disclose to her his secret name that he might use it for his cure, but he long demurred saying that his father had locked the name in his breast in order that no god should have power over him and declaring that it could be obtained only by a surgical operation Re finally yielded however and Isis performed the operation secured the name cured the god ¹⁷ and thus became the upreme enchantress of Egypt a orceress often referred to as Weret hke he who is great of magic (*Turin Papyrus*, 131 133) ¹

Isis a healing divinity of the first rank (Diodoro 1 25) cared for the health of her people and was especially skilled in the treatment of children having gained her knowledge by devising charms and remedies for her infant son (*Turin Papyrus*, xxxi lxxvii 6 *Ebers Papyrus*, 1 xii) To the offering he came bringing with her word of magical power and her mouth was full of the breath of life for her talisman vanquished the pain of sickness and her word made to live again the throat of those who were dead ¹ In the preparation of remedies he was appealed to by incantation as in the following from the Eber Papyri

My I i he l me h he led her on Horu f ll th p in which his brother S' th brought on him when he lew his f ther

¹⁷ Budg *op cit*, 1 372 387 gives the story in parallel text

¹ K Sethe *Zur altgyptischen Sgvo Sonnen u g da in d r Frmd w r' in UGAA*, 1912, v, 128 lo Budg *Magic*, pp 137 141 Grdin r, in *ERE* viii 26

¹ B dg *op cit*, p 139

O iri O I i Thou great enchantre , he l me ave me from ll
 evil thing of d rkne from the epidemic and deadly di ease
 nd infection of all orts that pring upon me thou ha taved
 and freed thy on Horu , for I have pa ed through fire and m
 come out of the water May I not light upon that day when I hall
 ay I am of no account and pitiable O Re who ha t poken for
 thy body O O iri who pr ye t for thy manife tation Re peak
 for the body, O iri pr y for the manife tation Fr e me from ll
 po ible evil hurtful thing of darkne from epidemic and
 de dly fever of every kind

To tho e who ought her aid in illnes he disclosed her
 remedies through dreams by incubation, more e pecially
 in the later period when she was a ociated with Serapi
 at Alexandria and at Phil ° and her temples notably
 tho e at Kopto and at Panopoli were depositories of
 ancient medical lore She was also a child birth godde s
 and in thi function she was as ociated with other divini
 ties as Nephthys Heqet and Meskhenet ^{2 1}

Isis of 'ten thousand names was venerated nd wor
 shipped throughout the whole of the known Nile valley
 From the period of the New Kingdom she wa simulated
 with practically every goddess in Egypt, ab orbing their
 attributes over hadowing them nd being wor hipp d
 in very many aspects in the hrine of other godde e
 either under their name and attributes or under com
 pound names, such a Isis Hat hôr or Isi Neith Th
 original seat of her cult appears to have been at Per ehbet
 near the city of Buto and she had other temples in dif
 ferent part of the country, one of the mo t beautiful
 being that erected under the Ptolemies on the acred

⁰ R'villout in *PSBA*, 1887, x 58

¹ Erm *Di Marche des P pyr s We tc r*, pp 60 ff l o M
 p r *Pop l r Stor es*, pp 36 ff Wl dem nn *Alt gypti ch S g*
d Marchen, pp 1 24

Müll r *op cit*, p 99

land of Phil the remains of which are still of great architectural interest

In the reorganization of religion under Ptolemy Soter Isis was associated with the new god Serapis at Alexandria where she was the second member of the triad, and this new cult gaining in popularity especially among foreigners soon spread to Greece Rome and its province, although in Rome it was long discredited because of cultic abuses. After it had been suppressed elsewhere in the general movement against paganism the worship of Isis continued in Egypt even to the middle of the fifth century A.D. owing to the faithful support given it by the Nubians.

KHONSU, OR KHONS

DURING the Early Empire Khonsu the son of Amon and Mut and the third member of the Theban triad appear to have been a travelling deity a messenger of the god in the form of the moon and with the rise of the Theban Empire and the advancement of Amon to supremacy as a national divinity he was recognized as an ancient form of the moon god, and the son of Amon Re. The earliest certain mention of Khonsu is of his close association with Thoth as a moon god and before the Middle Kingdom he seems to have been little known, especially outside of Upper Egypt. In his development he was associated with Horus as Khonsu Horu and at a late date with Re as Khonsu Re. During the period between the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties he came into notice more and more frequently and thereafter he became an important deity his healing cult developed rapidly and he was widely renowned for his miraculous cures but there are no legends

Budg. *Gods*, II 202-240 also Muller *op cit*, pp. 98-101. Petrie in *ERE* v 246. Milne, in *ib*, vi, 378, G. Showerman I 1 ' in *ib*, vii 434-437.

* Muller *op cit*, p. 140. Wilkins *op cit*, III 484-513.

of him before the Ptolemaic period. He was greatly honored at Thebes and Rameses III (1200-1100 B.C.) erected a large and beautiful temple for him at Karnak on the east bank of the Nile within the precincts of the great temple of Amun. There were three shrines: the House of Khonsu, the beautiful resting one, the House of Khonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep, and the sanctuary of Khonsu, the god who carries out his plans in Thebes, i.e., the divinity energized to permit his power to act outside the temple. The deity was also worshipped elsewhere as at Edfu and Hermopolis where he was assimilated with Thoth as Khonsu Tahuti, but the chief interest attaches to his form as Khonsu Neferhotep, who ruled over the month, the great god who drives away devils of sea, earth, and sky which are hostile to man and which attack him causing pains, sickness, madness, decay, and death. Khonsu made women and cattle to become fertile.

As the god in activity, the divinity cured Ptolemy Philadelphus of a dangerous disease, and in gratitude the monarch erected in honor of the deity a statue adjoining his sanctuary, the base of which is still preserved.²⁰

The image of Khonsu contained the soul of the god, and it announced his will by *hanu*, movement of the head. Khonsu Neferhotep was credited with the ability to effect cures by substitution, loaning the healing force from his own soul energy (i.e., his *sa*) to an image or double, 'bestowing upon it [by the nape of the neck] its protective fluid at four intervals. The true name thus conveyed gave the statue power to catch out demon and to cure disease, but the best of the divine substance was always kept at Thebes. An instance of the efficacy of this

A. M. Blackman, 'The Pharaoh, Placenta and the Moon God Khonsu' in *JEA*, 1916, III, 235-249.

²⁰ Widmann, *Magie und Zauberei*, pp. 1-21.

transmitted power¹ related on the so-called Bakhtan tale now in Paris.² The father-in-law of Ramese II, a powerful prince of Mesopotamia, requested him to send one of Egypt's sage to heal his daughter, who was afflicted with a disease which had resisted all effort at cure, and Ramese accordingly deputed a man wise of heart and cunning of finger, but when he reached his destination he found himself helpless to aid the prince, since he was possessed of a demon (or a ghost or spirit of the dead) of superior rank. A second appeal was made to Ramese, who then consulted Khonsu, whereupon the god nodded firmly twice, thus consenting that one of his double, to whom he transmitted his healing force in fourfold measure, should be sent to Bakhtan. Upon the arrival of the deity, the evil spirit at once recognized him, made submission, and offered to return to his own place, but begged that first a feast should be held at court at which he might be present. This request was granted, and when the god, the prince, and the demon had spent a pleasant day together, the evil spirit went to his home, and the princess was cured. While Khonsu was thereafter highly honored at Bakhtan, where he remained for more than three years. Recent critics declare that the story of late Greek origin, and that the story was probably invented to enhance the waning influence of the deity.

Khonsu was variously represented with the figure of a man and the head of a hawk, or a human head, surmounted by a lunar or solar disk and with the crescent or uru. He is also depicted as a child bearing a relation to the god similar to that of Harpokrate to Horus.

¹ Budge, *Magic*, pp. 206-213. ² *lo Gods*, II, 38-41, Mapero, *op cit*, pp. 175-179.

I e, rakhkh t, "knower of things" (*Ebers Papyrus*, I, ix).

Müller, *op cit*, p. 140. Budge, *op cit*, II, 33-41. Wilkinon, *op cit*, III, 174-17.

but the most characteristic form is that of a young prince with a side lock of hair clothed in antiquated royal apparel with the insignia of royalty the whip and crook

NEITH

NEITH one of the most ancient deities of the pantheon and probably of Libyan origin adopted during the First Dynasty¹ had as symbol the shuttle and bow and arrows whence it would appear that she was a divinity of weaving (perhaps of handicrafts) and of the chase though in her later aspect she was regarded as a form of Hathor and a sky goddess Presiding over the city of Sais in the Delta she was frequently referred to under that name and being associated with the theology of Atum Re at Heliopolis the father god she was called the 'mother goddess Neith the mighty mother who gave birth to Re the great lady the lady of heaven and the queen of the gods while the term self born or self produced was applied to her and she was said to have brought forth Re without the aid of husband

Although a prominent and highly respected member of the pantheon she was always surrounded with an air of mystery the many texts concerning her have not been harmonised and her composite complex character has not been clearly interpreted She was assimilated with many of the principal goddesses of Egypt in their varied aspects being allied with Isis as a protector of Horus and as a form of the magic power of these deities and with Sekhmet Mut Ubatet and Uzoit divinities having child birth functions her symbol being the vulture indicative of maternity and of an obstetric function She was also a healing deity her temple at Sais being celebrated as a

⁰ Blackman, in *JEA*, 1916 III, p. 247

¹ *Budg op cit*, I 475

Ib, I 459

healing netuary and having attached to it medical school which was restored (by direction of Darius) during the Persian occupation

The Greek who equated the goddess with Athena attributed to her remarkable powers ³⁴ and a statue of Neith which is supposed to have symbolized Truth and of which much has been written bore an inscription given by Plutarch (*op cit*, ix) which he assumed to refer to Isis and which read "I am all that hath been and that is and that shall be, and my veil none hath uncovered (or revealed)" ³

The worship of Neith was widely extended throughout Egypt the chief seat in the South being at Elephantine where she was the consort of Khnumu and at Letopolis (Te snet) and her annual Festival of Lamp at Siwa famous (Herodotus ii 59 62) ⁷

NEKHBET

NEKHBET, the tutelary goddess of the city of Eleithyia polis (Nekhab), the modern El Kab and Hierakonpolis the White City of hawks was the best known divinity of child birth in the pantheon while in the early period she was one of the two mistresses of the prehistoric kingdoms into which the country was then divided Nekhbet ruling the South while her sister, Uout of Buto reigned over the North

Although she is described on monuments as a deity of child birth she is more commonly referred to as a nurse who protected kings as in the instance of Pepi whom she

³ Gardiner in *ERE* viii, 268

^{2 4} Wilkin on *op cit*, ii 42

Budge, *op cit*, i, 458

³ *Ib*, i 450 465, also Wilkin on *op cit*, iii, 39 44

⁷ Wilkinson *op cit*, iii 380

Muller *op cit*, pp 101 142 143

Neckled The vulture whose hieroglyph was used for mother (Aihano *op cit*, x 22) was her emblem and was very commonly shown without spread wing while Nekhbet herself was represented with a human figure and the head of a vulture or sometimes of an ape⁴ with the head of a woman wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt with a cap and the two ostrich feathers of Osiris and occasionally with the globe of Hathor a key goddess

Nekhbet intervened in the myths alone of those in attendance upon Isis at the birth of Horus and she was intimately associated with the other divinities of parturition especially with Uzot Ubastet and Hathor as well as with Mekhenet (or Rannu) who was more definitely a nurse particularly of king and prince while other deities of Egypt are occasionally mentioned in connection with gestation and child bearing such as Nut Mut and Typho⁴⁰ Nekhbet further appeared together with a goddess of the North Uat or Uatu modern variant of one named ordinarily called Buto (more accurately Uto) who was also protectress of Monarch and who was likewise represented in the form of vulture and worshipped with the same honor as Thebes but who was placed in opposition as having a contrary character⁴ The Greeks equated Nekhbet with Eileithyia and the Romans with Lucina and the city of Nekhbet was called Civita Lucinae⁴¹

NEPHTHYS OR NEBT HOT

NEPHTHYS, the Mistress of the temple and an ancient deity of the Osirian cycle was in general character the goddess of death whence she was called Mistress of the

Br t d *op cit*, p 130

⁴ Wilkin o *op cit*, ii 194 200

¹ Budg, *op cit*, i 438 441

West yet her personality was essentially passive and she appeared complementary to Isis. Born on the fifth epagomenal day she was the daughter of Qêb and Nut and the sister of Osiris Sêth Horus the Elder and Isis but though she was the wife of Sêth she was an attendant upon Osiris in the judgment scene and a faithful friend to Isis. She aided her sister in searching for and collecting the remains of Osiris and in carrying them to Abydos for interment and she watched over Isis in the swamp while awaiting the birth of Horus, afterward being one of the child-sustaining mothers. She was intimately associated with Nekhbet and Uzoit Heqet and Mekhenet and cooperated with them as deities connected with childbirth (*Westcar Papyrus*, pl 9 1 21 ff.)

Like Isis Nephthys was skilled in magic mighty in words of power and a healing divinity while with Osiris and Isis she was one of the great overreigns of Mendes in the Delta. She had numerous titles of which the most common were lady of heaven mistress of the god, and great goddess lady of life and she was worshipped in many places especially with Isis at her great temple at Per ebbet (Plutarch *op cit*, xxxviii lxiii) ⁴

PTAH

PTAH one of the primeval deities called the very great god represented wisdom ⁴ and was a cosmic divinity the creator of the gods and of the world a fellow worker with Khnûmu in the creation of the universe molding the solar and lunar eggs on the potter wheel ⁴ and executing the commands of Thoth and of the Seven Wise One of the goddess Meheturt who planned the world ⁴. As a

Muller, *op cit*, p 110 Budge *op cit*, II 254 260 P. tr. in *ERE* v 246

Budge *op cit*, I, 501

Müller, *op cit*, pp 144 145

⁴ Budge *op cit*, I 516

creator he was Ptah Tetenen and an architect ⁴ a divine artist in stone and metal who formed work of art his high priest being the chief artificer ⁴⁷ Ptah partook of the nature of Thoth and was called lord of Maat at Memphis which was named Hatka Ptah Place of the Soul of Ptah and in which he had been adored from remote time as the greatest of all divinities ⁴⁷

Ptah the god of the propitious face was the chief of the Memphite triad his wife Sekhmet and his son Nefer tēm (or later Imhotep who displaced Nefer tēm) completing the group ⁴ He was identified with many other deities whose power he was supposed to possess but more closely with Apis and Osiris than with other Apis was regarded as the incarnation of the soul of Ptah and in dying became Sokari ⁴ who was a divinity of a place near Memphis and who was transformed into a god of the earth and of the dead when this became a necropolis Ptah was then blended with Sokari and later, when absorbed by Osiris as Osiris Apis they became Osorapis the Serapis of Ptolemaic time

Ptah was a therapeutic divinity of great renown and his temple at Memphis was celebrated for the marvellous cure which he effected It appears that from early time the remedies for the healing of diseases were revealed to suppliants at his shrine in dream during sleep in his sanctuary As an incubation deity he received the epithet Sotmu, ¹ and it was chiefly in his aspect as Ptah Sotmu that he was adjured to 'hear the prayer' and when morning came the response when made was interpreted by

⁴ Breasted, *op cit*, pp 45 4

⁴⁷ Müller *op cit*, pp 144 145 220 222

Budge, *op cit*, I, 520

⁴ Ma p ro *History*, I, 163

Müller *op cit*, pp 98, 149 162

¹ *Sotmu* meaning 'hear' or 'ring' Ptah Sotmu is connected with Ptah
where, Foucart in *ERE* v 36

the Learned Men of the Magic Library or was found in a sealed box containing a book with direct instruction to be copied and followed

The carabeus was the sacred emblem of the deity al though he wa occasionally represented by the frog He wa commonly depicted as a bearded m n with clo e fitting garments nd a cap without ornament seated and holding in his hands the emblems of life and stability but occasionally he wore the o trich feathers of O iri and held his staff The Greek equated him with their He phai tos

SEKHMET

S KHMET was the second member of the Memphite triad the consort and female counterpart of Ptah and her name assumed to have been derived from *sekhem* (strong) corresponded to her personality which was tr ong mighty and violent She represented fire and the intense destroying heat of the un and was at time an avenging deity the Lady of pe tience ' Re employed her to destroy the wicked but she became so fond of the blood of man and carried her destruction so far that he was alarmed for the human race and seeking to restrain her caused to be made mixture of blood and mandrake which the goddess drank with such avidity that becoming intoxicated she forgot to slay

Sekhmet wa a ther peutic divinity and wa a oci ted with Ptah at his healing shrines, her prie ts being celebrated in the curative art nd reputed to have unusual skill a bone etter ⁴ She overplayed the part of protecting the good and annihilating the wicked and bore many titles as greatly beloved of Ptah or lady of

Budge, *op c t*, 1, 515 Gardin r in *ERE* viii 264

Muller *op c t*, pp 73 75 M sp ro *op c t*, 1, 234 ff

⁴M p ro *op cit*, 1 30

heaven mistre of two land lthough her most common epithet wa the L dy of Flame She wa as imilated with Mut nd Neith and both he and her si ter Ubastet were identified with form of Hat hôr while in dynastic times he w blended with Re and Uba tet being called Sekh met Uba tet Re She wa ordinarily confused with Uba tet and U oit Her clo e relation in religion with Amon and Mut at Thebe have been hown in modern excava tion at Karnak by the finding of more than one hundred and eighty tatues of her in heroic si e bordering the avenue leading to the temple of Amon The goddess wa repre ented with the head of a lioness ually ur mounted by a solar dī k with the uræu ²³

SERAPIS OR OSOR HAP

SERAPI was introduced into the Egyptian pantheon by Ptolemy I with the intention of establishing a god in whose worship the Greek could join at a common shrine and who would be distinctive of his reign ¹ Finally in dream he aw the great statue of a deity which he wa told to bring to Alexandria (Plutarch, *op cit*, xxviii, xxix) and after a earch the image found at Sinope in Pontus, was obtained with ome difficulty and taken to the capital where it was set up with great pomp and ceremony the temple of Osiris Apis being rebuilt and the large celebrated Serapeum of Alexandria becoming the center of the divinity s cultic worship The Egyptians were told that the god was a fusion of Osiris and of Apis of Memphis and they discerned in him

Many of th tatues have b n removed to museums of th W t rn world

Budge, *op cit*, i, 514-520

¹ *Ib*, ii 195

² Bouché-Lel req *Histoire d l divinité d s l' ntiqité*, i 78
 1 o Budge *op cit*, ii 199

Oiris Apis (their own *wesjr hapi, i e*, the dead Apis the blended O or hap) ² but the deity was received with coolness and never became popular although, as a result of official pressure his cult was widespread especially throughout Lower Egypt Serapis assumed the title of Oiris as the Nile god the god of the Underworld and the judge of the dead and absorbed all his functions although the ceremonial rites were changed and Isis was associated with him in cultic worship The Egyptian origin of the name is preferred by good authority but many opinions have been expressed concerning the antecedents of the divinity that he was the Baal or Bel zipur of Babylon who was equated with Zeus or more probably that he was the great Babylonian healing deity Ea of Eridu under his common title Sarapsi King of the Watery Deep with his dream oracle ¹ while Bouché Leclercq remarks that under his [Serapis] name were collected the debris of numerous divine personalities worn out by time

Serapis was a complex character but he was a healing divinity *par excellence*, an iatromantic deity working with the dream oracle and other forms of divination with incubation magic and like mystic practices The old Egyptian ritual was superseded and the compulsory interpretation of dream by priests, who thus controlled the oracle gave rise to many abuses A Louvre papyrus of late date contains a journal of a Greek attendant at the Serapeum at Memphis of about A.D. 164 which suggests that the writer belonged to a guild of professional medicine

E. Thraemer, 'Health and Gods of Healing (Greek and Roman),' in *ERE* vi, 542, 549

Wilkinson *op cit*, iii 95-98

¹ F. F. K. Lehmann Haupt in Rosch r 1910 iv 340 Müller *op cit*, pp 8-389

Bouché Leclercq *op cit*, i, 78

diums who incubated for suppliant and who were called by the Greek name *katochoi*,³ such priests being supposed to be inspired by a divinity and to act as the mouth piece of the oracle of the god

The great Serapeum at Alexandria was always the chief seat of the worship of Serapis and Isis in the Ptolemaic age and it was adorned by a statue of the deity a colossal work of art by the famous sculptor Bryaxis (Tacitus *Historia*, iv 83) contemporary of Skopas.⁴ The two other centers of his worship were at Memphis where he displaced Apis and at Abydos where he took over the temple of Osiris. Another Serapeum which was renowned and held in great veneration was situated at Canopus where suppliants incubated for themselves or others did for them and marvellous cures were reported (Strabo XVII 1 17 p 800 C). The cult acquiring renown spread to Greece where it proved a powerful rival to that of Asklepios and it also found its way to Rome and its provinces until it was forbidden and the Serapeum at Alexandria with all its accumulations of Oriental literature, was destroyed shortly after the edict of Theodosius in which finally suppressed paganism.

THOTH, THOUT OR TAHUTI

THOTH, the Egyptian moon god installed by Re personified the intellect of the lunar deity as well as his creative and directing power and he was the orderer of the cosmos speaking the words which resulted in the creation. He was the divinity of wisdom through whom all mental gifts were imparted to man and was the possessor of every kind of knowledge and of everything that

³ H. Milton *op cit*, p 105

⁴ Cumont *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, p 76

Budge *op cit*, II 195 201 also Milne, in *ERE* vi 376 378

Müller *op cit*, pp 84 85

contributed to civilization and refinement whence he was the inventor of letters language and numbers and of the art and sciences including astronomy architecture medicine and botany He was the founder of the social order the author of the institutions of temple worship and the builder of shrines⁷ besides being the Lord of the Divine words who devised the sacred ritual for proper approach to deity with prayers and sacrifices He was, moreover the Lord of Law the master of law in its physical and moral conceptions the knowing one who looketh through bodies and testeth hearts and accordingly he became the divine arbiter to whom appeal was made for assistance in important matters under dispute He was also great in magic the mightiest of all magicians and the god Hike of the Old Kingdom was possibly a form of Thoth⁸ while he was regarded as the personification of the intelligence of Ptah Thoth thus appears as above the ordinary Egyptian divinity a god whose mind is all penetrating and all comprehending the Mysterious the Unknown The character of Thoth is a lofty and beautiful conception and is perhaps the highest idea of deity ever fashioned in the Egyptian mind⁹

Thoth was intimately associated with the myths of the Osirian cycle In the Underworld he was a divinity of Maat (Justice) who in the judgment scene stood by the Great Balance and determined the weight of the human hearts against the ostrich feather and he was the recording deity the scribe of the gods who reported the results to Osiris and his assessors who replied saying That which cometh from thy mouth is true and the de

⁷ Boylan, *op cit*, pp 88 89 93 101 103

Ib p 125

⁸ *Ib*, p 102

⁹ Budge, *op cit*, 1 415

cea ed 1 holy nd righteou ⁷¹ He outwitted Re by creating the intercalary day thu enabling Nut to give birth to O iri Horu the Elder Sêth Isi and Neph thy ⁷² and the chapters of the *Book of the Dead* are declared to have been composed by him He put together the cattered member of the murdered Osiri (*Pyramid Texts*, 639 747 830) he provided the magic words by which I 1 revived Osiri th t he might receive his eed nd conceive Horu and Re chose him to go with mighty word of power which cured the dying Horu of the cor pion s ting

Thoth wa a protector against evil and e pecially against illness delivering man from the perils that threat ened him a well as from the evil demons that beset him

My god Thoth is a hield round about me' (*Anastasi Papyrus*, I viii 3) The e sential of medicine consi ted in the rites and formula by which unseen malicious beings which cau ed disease were exorcised and expelled from the bodies of victim and hence were magical so that a a magician he was a powerful patron of physician who be ought him to give skill to those who know things to physician who are in his train (*Hearst Medical Papyrus*, vi 10) An enormou number of amulet in the form of figurines of the god have been found in all part of Egypt and are uppo ed to refer to his functions as magi cian and healer ⁷³ while according to the old text he played the part of the physician of the eye of Horu (*Hearst Medical Papyrus*, xiv 9) healing the eye of the un ⁷⁴ when he restored the eye of Horu after h1 fight with Sêth and he was e pecially efficacious against the attacks of scorpions With h1 spittle he healed the wound

⁷¹ Budge *op cit*, 1, 408

⁷² Fra er, *op cit*, p 341

⁷³ Boyl n *op cit*, p 131

⁷⁴ Mull r *op cit*, p 32

of his own arm received while endeavoring to compose the Horus Sêth struggle (*Pyramid Texts*, 530 2055) and in invocations he was reminded of his own physical trouble possibly of this incident O Thoth heal me as thou didst heal thyself (*Book of the Dead*, 71 6)

A period of exceptionally intense veneration for the divinity began with the Eighteenth Dynasty and in the Græco Roman epoch his popularity had a rapid growth his shrines existed everywhere and he appeared definitely at Philæ and in the Nubian temple at Dendûr the Egyptian Aklepius holding the serpent encircled staff while his epithet 'Istn connects him with Imhotep at Philæ

He who comes to him that calls him In the late period the name of Thoth *Stm* became familiar *Stm* being regarded as an appellation of the oracle as well as of the healing god Thoth⁷ and at the shrine at Medinet Habu (Djeme) he was sometimes confused with Teos (*Dhr*)

divinity of healing who it is conjectured was a deified priest of Memphis⁷ In the text of the dedication of this sanctuary it is said that Thoth (and possibly Teo) was accustomed to descend on the temple each evening in the form of an ibis going forth every morning and it is therefore assumed that the fane was regarded as the focus for oracles received through incubation⁷⁷

Thoth had a primitive shrine at Hierakonpolis where standards show the sacred ibis but the first trace of a cultic center was at his sanctuary in Hermopolis which became probably the greatest healing temple of ancient Egypt A medical school and library were connected with it and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stromata*, vi 4) describes forty-two hermetic books of Thoth which were discovered there six of which numbered from thirty

Boylan, *op cit*, pp 89 1 131 132, 159 166 168

⁷ See the in *ERE* vi 651

⁷⁷ Boylan, *op cit*, p 1 also Mallet, *Kasr el Agouz*, pp 99 101

even to forty two were medical ⁷ Presumably a ^{an} assistant Safekht (or Sekhaut) was attached to the library being the lady of letter mistress of the house of books ²⁷ At the temple of Philæ Thoth was especially venerated and received the title of Lord of Philæ Lord of Eshmunem Thoth of the Abaton and 'Thoth of Pnubs His cult was fostered in Nubia his chief sanctuary there being at Dakkeh and another was at Dendûr but in both he appeared in the form of Shu The use of the dream oracle by incubation in the temple at Hermopolis ¹ confirmed by numerous texts and there are many suggestions that it was in use at his other shrines ² ¹

At his own city of Hermopolis Thoth was the chief of company (*paut*) consisting of an ogdoad of four pairs of male and female deities his own feminine counterpart and consort being the goddess Maat In the most ancient text an ibis on a perch ¹ the symbol of the god and he was usually represented with a human body and an ibis head occasionally surmounted by a feather crown though he is also depicted as an ape or dog headed baboon The Greek equated him with Hermes a Psychopompos

UBASTET OR BASTET

UBASTET the Lady of the West of the Delta and one of the most prominent of the ancient deities of the pantheon ⁴ was primarily like her sister Sekhmet a god

⁷ Wilkinson *op cit*, III 171

⁷ Muller, *op cit*, pp 52 53 200 also Petrie in *ERE* v 249, Budg *op cit*, I 424

⁰ The name *p nbs* or *pr nbs* is continued House of the Sycamore (Boylan *op cit*, p 169)

¹ Foucart, in *ERE* v, 35

² Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Agypt*, pp 2 32

Boylan *op cit*, pp 136 ff also Budg, *op cit*, I 400 415

⁴ Muller, *op cit*, p 150

de of fire but expressed the idea of the milder heat of the sun the warmth which germinates the seed and encourages vegetation. She was sometimes represented as a huntress and was also a healing divinity to whom the origin of the medical art was ascribed a goddess of the birth chamber and a protectress of children. The center of her worship was at Bubastet (Per Baste) and her temple and festivals were among the most interesting in Egypt (Herodotos, II 59 60 137 138 Diodoros, XVI 51 Pliny *op cit*, V 9 Strabo XVII 1 27 28 pp 805 806 C). Identified with most of the well known feminine deities of the Nile valley and worshipped under their names she was known at Thebes as Mut Ubastet and was depicted as Isis while at Memphis she had a temple where she was identified with her sister Sekhmet and where they both represented the devouring destructive heat of the sun (Herodotos, II 156). Her association with Khonsu at Thebes has led to the surmise that she was a moon goddess. The cat was sacred to her and being depicted with the head of that animal she was called the cat headed goddess but in the later period she was regarded as a variant of Sekhmet and then had the head of a lioness surmounted by the uræus. The Greeks equated her with Artemis (Herodotos *loc cit*).

UZOIT UAZIT OR BUTO (UTO)

UZOIT was one of the old divinities of the pantheon, the goddess of the North who with her sister Nekhbet at their respective ancient capitals of Lower and Upper Egypt Buto in the Delta and El Kâb in the South ruled over these prehistoric kingdoms and they were called

Budg *op cit*, I 444-450

Bratton *op cit*, p 130

erpent godde ses ince they often ymboli ed the two Egypts in thi form ⁷

Like her 1 ter Nekhbet Uoit was a deity of child birth and was al o a celebrated magician frequently identified with I 1 She a isted Nephthys in hiding Isi and in caring for her in the papyru wamp and with Nekhbet and other godde e she uperintended the birth of Horu subsequently acting one of hi nur ing mothers Her own city the chief eat of her wor hip was at Buto and here in her gre t temple Pe Dep she conducted a renowned healing oracle (Herodotos ii 83 84) During Ptolemaic time the *pr mst*, birth hou e also called the *ht 'bw*, hou e of purification in which women are uppo ed to have remained fourteen day after delivery was attached to the temple of godde e Uzoit wa called mistress of all the gods or Uzoit L dy of heaven and was assimilated with Hat hôr Nekhbet nd Isi Her ymbol wa the ur us and he wore the a p on her headdres being called the Uræu Godde s The Greek identified her with Leto

Minor deities of Child birth and Nursing

IN addition to the two principal divinitie of child birth Nekhbet and Uzoit there were several minor godde es connected with the lying in ch mber who gave ea y birth and cared for the child but who e per onalities were not clearly developed and defined Among the more notable of these were Heqet the later consort of Khnûmu a birth deity and goddess of the cradle Meskhenet (birth place) who though associated with the dead is more frequently mentioned in connection with the birth

^{2 7} Mull r *op ct*, pp 132 361

Budg *op ct*, i, 441

Ib, i 438 ii 285 441 444

² Muller *op ct*, p 52

chamber and with the care of children and who was sometimes regarded as a feminine deity of fate ¹ and Renenutet a divinity of nursing who was identical with the asp-headed Rannu and who was called a divine nurse of princes. Me khet the name of the brick or couple of bricks on which women crouched in giving birth was a symbolic goddess personified under a sign on the head interpreted as a bicornate uterus (?). In the text she is coupled with Khnûmu or with Renenutet ⁴.

² ¹ Muller *op cit*, pp 52 95, 137 l o Budg, *op cit*, II 144, 359 M pero *Popular Stories*, p 36 *id*, *Études égyptiennes*, I 27

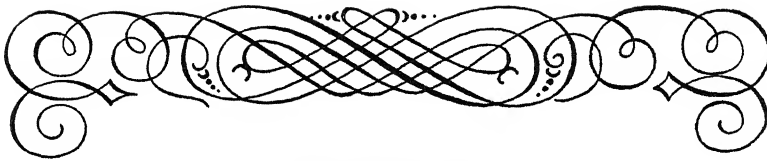
Muller, *op cit*, pp 6 116

Wilkinson *op cit*, III 213 214 Note Other references in ancient Egyptian literature but they do not properly sufficiently define to be included here. See A M Blackman Some Remarks on an Emblem upon the head of an Ancient Egyptian Birth Goddess in *JEA*, 191 III 199 206

Spielberg *Ägyptologisch Randglossen zu Alten Testament*, pp 1 25

CHAPTER TWO

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN GODS



CHAPTER TWO

THE HEALING GODS OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

THE people of Babylon and Assyria believed that disease was supernatural in origin and that it was due to the activities of unseen enemies particularly to the presence of some spirit such as a ghost or demon in the body of the sufferer. Often it was induced by a deity or by a human sorcerer and cure was dependent upon the dislodgment and expulsion of the evil being by some higher divine power. The treatment of disease was therefore a matter which pertained to religion and which was under the direction of the priest.

General views of the people

The ancient civilization of Mesopotamia which flourished in pomp and magnificence and power in the valley of the Tigris and of the Euphrate and which included the surrounding countries extending their control to the Mediterranean and into Egypt referred every phenomenon of nature to supernatural causes believing that all nature was controlled by superhuman or divine beings or spirits who might be either good or evil in intent. Man sought to obtain the blessings which nature provided and to escape the misfortune of life which malicious beings of the spirit world brought upon him and to this end he invoked the gods who were his natural friends and protectors and who were generally more powerful than the

being of evil. Supplications were made to them to thwart the evil design of the enemy spirits and, expelling those who already possessed the sick and suffering to grant the blessing of health and of prosperity. These appeals were supported by religious ceremonies which included prayers, incantation for exorcism, sacrifice, symbolic magic, occult practices, and mysterious pseudo science in all of which the priests were adepts. Such beliefs and usages were an integral part of the accepted religion and instructions derived from magic practices and from occult learning transmitted through the priests were the voice of their honored deities by which their daily lives were guided both in personal and in national affairs.

Ancient records

The Old Testament and the ancient historians including the Babylonian Berossus fragments of whose work have been preserved to us, furnish scant information concerning the great nations and the interest which they have always aroused has been only partially satisfied by further detail of their history and civilization disclosed by ancient records found in modern excavations. The tablets of clay engraved in cuneiform characters, many of them from the great library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, generally date from about the seventh century B.C., although it has been determined that many are copies of much older documents. While the cuneiform sources do not begin until about 3000 B.C., there are evidences that the people of Sumer occupied the southern Euphrate valley as early as 5000 B.C., and even 8000 B.C. is mentioned.¹ The most ancient records of the valley yet discovered (legends, ritual texts, hymns, contracts, and word lists) are in the Sumerian tongue which was for many centuries the classic scientific language of the

¹ H. Zimmern, 'Babylonian and Assyrian' in *ERE* II, 309.

invader from the north and they suggest that the Sumerian had attained a higher type of civilization than that which was possessed by their Semitic conqueror. The Semites of Akkad who are supposed to have made their appearance in the land not later than about 4000 B.C., grew in strength until about 2300 B.C., when the Sumerian state was transformed into a collection of Sumero-Akkadian states and Semitic speech serving with Sumerian as the official language during the third millennium became predominant both for popular and for official use after about 2000 B.C., when the Semites gained full control of the valley. Many of the records are broken and imperfect, very many others are yet undeciphered but although our information is still fragmentary sufficient is known to construct a fairly accurate picture of many of their customs as well as of their religious belief and practice.

The respective civilizations

The closely related civilization of Babylonia and Assyria were very much the same but Babylon cultivated literature and the art and gave thought to religion to a larger extent while Assyria dominated rather by the spirit of conquest manifested greater materialism with stronger undercurrent of animism in her religious cult. Whatever individuality was shown in Assyrian belief and customs they were ever influenced and tinged by the higher and more vigorous culture of the Babylonian from whom they borrowed much.

The religion

The religion of the Babylonian and Assyrians never

T. G. Pinch, 'Sumer-Akkadian' in *ERE* xli 43 col. 1
Winckler *Die Völker Vorderasien*, p. 5

J. Tr. W. *The Civilization of Babylon and Assyria*, pp. 120 ff

ro e far above a relatively primitive stage of develop-
ment its dominating feature being polyd moni m in
which were a multitude of divinities⁴ This seem to have
uperseded earlier animistic beliefs which were till
powerful underlying element in the imagination of th
people and its urvival appeared in all the popular
form of religious observances, o that a ubjective reli-
gion apparently existed side by ide with yet apart from
th official creed which wa diligently followed by tho
who e thought never attained the higher level of pecu-
l tion

The pantheon

The many deitie of Babylonia and As yria were for
the mo t part ancient gods of local origin identified with
the sever l state and citie though other had been
brought in from neighboring state after inv ion and
domination nd h d been accepted a member of th
pantheon The old Sumerian and Semitic divinities with
their consorts had been acknowledged and as imilated
but the Sumerian name greatly exceeded those of Sem-
itic origin and everything goe to show that the Sumerian
elements in the population had the same preponderating
influence in religious matter that they enjoyed in liter-
ture and in art There were cosmic and national deities
each city had it chief divinity around each great god
were grouped lesser deities demigod and those of a till
lower order and these were subdivided some being good
nd ome being evil spirits hostile to man and pos es ed
of power to do him injury The good spirits were guard-
ians of mankind and one was supposed to be assigned to
each person for guidance and for protection while the

⁴ L B P to 'B l Beel Bel in *ERE* II 295

Jastrow *The Religion of B byloni d Assyria*, pp 116 ff 180 ff
Pinche in *ERE* XI 42

god were patron and defenders of their respective cities and people. A few of the older deities were credited with cosmic function and their deeds in bringing order out of chaos and in developing the heaven, the atmosphere and the earth related in the religious tradition and myth. The more important divinities were grouped in triads, the first of which consisted of Anu, the great god of the heaven, supreme over all, who, chief deity of the city of Uruk, Enlil, the deity of the atmosphere and of the earth, whose abode was at Nippur, and Ea, the divinity of the waters, whose city was Eridu. A second triad was composed of Shamash, the sun god, Sin, the moon god, and Ishtar, the goddess of love and fertility, and there were many other divinities having various functions, such as Nusku and Gibil or Giru, deities of fire, and Ninkal, a divinity of war.⁷

The rank of deities

The fortunes of all deities varied with the changing circumstance of their devotees, with the favor and power of ruler, and particularly with the activity and influence of the several priesthoods in the development of their favorite divinities. Local gods gained popularity and prestige and were accepted and worshipped in other cities; their authority extended with the increasing power of their peoples. Some were thus raised to a high rank and prestige and some received national recognition and power, while others were displaced, their attributes and rites were absorbed and they receded to subordinate rank, though frequently retaining the love and respect of their local worshippers and still enjoying a limited influence. Marduk, the national god of Babylon, is the most striking example of rise in fortune, from an

⁷ J. Trower, *op. cit.*, pp. 188 ff.; Zimmern in *ERE* II, 309-313.

J. Trower, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

insignificant local divinity of the city of Babylon he became more and more prominent as the city increased in power until finally he attained supremacy over all other divine beings of Babylonia and secured recognition of his might in several neighboring states. He absorbed the attributes, function, and honors of other deities, reduced them to a secondary place, and finally contested though unsuccessfully the independence of Asur, the national god of Assyria. Even the traditional myths were altered to glorify him, and he received credit for the cosmic deed of other divinities.

Temples

The deities were worshipped with much formality and pomp. Elaborate and complicated symbolic ceremonies were handed down by tradition for these functions, and great festivals lasting for days were held in honor of certain divinities at stated times of the year.¹ Numerous temples were erected for the patron deities of cities, and some of these acquired high renown. E. A. Speiser, the temple of Ea of Eridu, and E. Sagala, the great sanctuary of Marduk at Babylon, while gods of lower rank were honored with fane of their own or were received in the great temple where they were assigned private shrines according to their importance.¹¹

The priesthood

Priests and occasionally priestesses were attached to the sanctuary and were trained in the special duties pertaining to their class. One group supervised sacrifices and offerings, another attended to hymns, prayer, and lamentation, another which included physicians, con-

¹ J. Trow, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff., 11 ff.

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 462 ff., 675 ff.

¹¹ *Ib.*, pp. 612 ff.

ducted the rites of incantation which dispelled evil spirit exorcised demon of disease purified the unclean and thwarted wizard and practitioner of black magic while still another group directed oracles divination interpretation of dreams and omen from the movement of the heavenly bodies arts in which the priests particularly the Chaldæan were adept The priesthood had great prestige and influence both in religious and in political affairs and guided the destinies of their patron deities beside holding practical control of all learning culture and the arts and conducting school in the temple where scribes physician and priest were educated¹

Religious literature

An examination of the religious composition of Babylon and Assyria discloses the fact that their religion was based upon fear of demons and upon belief in the power of the gods over them rather than upon ethical considerations, which came only as a much later development. As used in the great majority of the texts the term in sickness and possession by evil spirit were synonymous and indicated merely the physical condition of an evil state of the body from which relief was sought. Misery sorrow and contrition were frequently expressed often with great feeling but in the penitence there was seldom even a suggestion of moral wrong. The appeals to the deities and the religious practices by which it was hoped to obtain release from misfortune after overcoming or exorcising the demons must be termed for the most part according to modern views magic in character being formulated on the theory that

¹ J. Trow op cit, pp 655 ff. Lloyd, *Aspect of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, pp 273 ff. T. G. Pinches, Priesthood (Babylonian) in *ERE* x 285-288.

the priests were thus enabled to exercise control over unseen supernatural powers whether of good or of evil. Magic and magic practices accordingly permeated all the religious thought of Mesopotamia and dominated its ceremonies.¹

The after life

The hereafter engaged the attention of the people but their ideas of immortality remained vague. Death was an unmitigated evil, the end, and its occurrence was a time of sorrow without mercy for though the future did not involve extinction of conscious vitality yet it was gloomy. Since Assyrian-Babylonian belief pictured the departed souls huddled together deep in the bowels of the earth in a place called Aralû over which presided the goddess Allatu and her consort Nergal whose subjects were doomed to perpetual inactivity in a realm of neglect and decay. There was an absence of all ethical considerations in the allotment of the abode of the dead and no theories of rewards and punishments were associated with their fate. In a fashion they were associated with the gods, and some of them were regarded as heroes but all interest centered in the present life and the deities were not concerned for those who had departed from the earth but who nevertheless had an undefined influence over the affairs of mankind and at times exercised malign power upon them. They were the source of occasional oracles which were believed to have divine sanction¹⁴ and which are well illustrated by the Old Testament example of Saul calling upon the dead Samuel through the medium of a sorceress to declare what the outcome of a battle was to be.¹

¹ Zimmern in *ERE* II, 316-317, 10. L. W. King, *Magic* (Babylonian) in *ERE* VIII, 253-255.

¹⁴ J. Trow, *Religion*, pp. 559-560.

¹ I. S. A. I. VIII, 1.

Belief in demonology

Belief in the activities of evil spirit and demon was personal and vital with the people of Mesopotamia embittering and oppressing their daily lives with fear. All evil misfortune and mishaps that befell mankind were due to them except such as were inflicted by offended divinities and even then the demons were used by the god as instruments of punishment. Malignant spirit and demon inimical to man existed on every side ever ready to assail him and to do him all possible injury often making their attacks in groups of even or of twice even and many having special functions or bringing certain diseases and misfortune. In the later period the deities were credited with greater control over the spirits of evil so that it then came to be believed that the demons were able to effect their malevolent designs upon man only as they were given license by the god.¹

The demons

The invisible evil spirits, devils and demons were divided into three general classes: (a) disembodied spirit of the dead ghost or *edimmu*, (b) unhuman supernatural being differing from the god by being of a lower order and named in groups: the *utukku*, the *rabīsu*, and the *gallû*, or the triad *labartu*, *labasu*, and *ahhazu*, and others; and (c) half human half supernatural beings born of human and ghostly parentage: awful monsters and also named in groups as *lîlû*, *lîlîtu*, and *ardat lîlî*. There were besides many others especially the *labbu*, a fabulous lion-like raging monster allied to the mythical sea serpent and a bitter enemy of man.¹⁷

¹ J. Trow *op cit*, pp. 260 ff.

¹⁷ R. Campbell, *The Power of Demon and Spirits* (A. H. B. by London) in *ERE* iv 568-571; also Zimmern in *ERE* ii 315.

Attitude of the deities

The gods were regarded as the champion protector and defender of man and since except by virtue of their intervention he had no adequate defense against the attack of his enemies the deities were invoked for help through the medium of the priests as representing divinity. The religious ritual form and ceremonies by which the god were approached for release from all malign influence were systematized by the priesthood who alone knew the method which propitiated and appeased the divinities, gained their favour, averted misfortune, exorcised demon of disease and secured protection and guidance for the future. Soothsayers and exorcists were therefore held in high esteem by the people.

Rituals

All ritual and ceremonies were essentially twofold: (1) appeal to the deities for assistance, particularly for the exorcising of demon, and (2) divination to learn the disposition and the will of the gods. Entreaties to the divinities took the shape of hymns of praise and of prayers introductory to incantations, or *shiptu*, all of which partook of the nature of a curative remedy for present misfortune, sickness and suffering.¹ The form of these hymn prayers and incantations were built up by the priests from age to age until they became rigid traditional formulae of approved ritual invocation arranged for all occasions and to be followed without variation. In the library of Ashurbanipal have been found elaborate series of incantation texts which were to be uttered in connection with certain sympathetic and symbolic magic rites, the sole object of all the prescribed magic texts and of the ceremonies accompanying their

¹ J. Trow *Aspect*, pp. 2 ff.

recitation being to combat the demon to exorcise and drive them away or to transfer them to substitute victims. If recognized the particular malevolent being concerned was addressed by name but if he was unknown a long list of ghosts and evil spirits any one of whom might be the active agent was enumerated with a command to depart.¹

Purification

Purification was regarded as of essential importance and water and fire both having a sacred significance were the chief elements used for the purpose in connection with sympathetic and symbolic magic rituals particularly in the cults of the healing divinities for purifying the sick. The god Ea of Eridu supervised the ritual use of water usually by sprinkling or pouring and appeal was made to the deities Gibil (or Giru) or Ninkur in the fire rituals. Sickening was an uncleanness and purification of the person and of the house in which he had lain was necessary especially after recovery while in the case of king the use of torches and of censers is mentioned. In the performance of these rites the exorcist was known as the *asipu* priest and the purifier was termed the *mashmashu*.

Divination

Every effort was put forth to penetrate the veil of the future for divine help and guidance.¹ Special priests (the *bârû*, or diviner) were assigned to the study and the interpretation of signs and omens and the omen text how that Shamash the sun god and Adad the storm god were addressed as the gods of divination. The liver

¹ Jastrow *Religion*, pp. 252 ff. also Zimmern, in *ERE* II 317-31. Jastrow *Aspects*, pp. 312 ff. 318.

¹ L. W. King, 'Divination (Assyrian and Babylonian)', in *ERE* IV 7.

was regarded as the chief organ of life and the seat of life in fact and its conformation and markings were assumed to be true indication of the disposition of the divinitie toward the affairs of man so that examination of the livers of sacrificial animal (hepatoscopy) particularly of the sheep was resorted to for guidance in matters of public welfare and especially for official decision. The sign of the heavens (astrology) the movements of the sun moon and planet and of the many signs of nature the condition of the atmosphere the abnormalities of infant at birth 'omens from animals' and from oil and water and dreams⁷ all gave more or less important indications of the divine will for the future chiefly for the use of rulers in national affairs. The application of astrology for personal interests had scant development in Mesopotamia since the reading of the heavens for the individual horoscope came only later being engrafted upon astrology with Greek astronomy and applied in Greece and Rome⁸.

Dreams and oracles

Oneiromancy the art of divination by dreams was recognized as a means of involuntary divination and had an important place in the beliefs and practice of the people of Mesopotamia. The god it was held revealed them selves and their will to favored ones in dream which were a regular medium of communication between

⁷ J. J. Strow, *op cit*, pp 148 ff and *Id*, *Die Religio Babylon und Assyrie*, II, 23 215

Id, *Religion*, pp 356 ff and *Die Religio*, II 415 748

⁸ J. J. Strow, *op cit*, II 836 46

Ib, II 775 836

Ib, II 749 775

⁷ *Ib*, II, 946 ff

Id, *Aspects*, pp 243 244

Id, *Religio*, pp 402 ff and *Aspect*, pp 204 ff

deities and men and which were supposed to be sent by some divinity usually when the soul was entrained by the burden of mortal sense. Thus the deity Ningir was supposed to God of Lagash in a vision and declared the divine pleasure that a great temple should be erected in his honor according to specified plans, all this being interpreted to him by his goddess mother Nina.^o Supplications were made to the divinity for help and dream of which the following is an example

O god of the new moon unrivaled in might who counsel no
 one can grasp
 I have poured for thee purification of the night I have offered
 thee a pure drink
 I bow down to thee I stand before thee I seek thee
 Direct thought of favor and justice toward me
 That my god and my goddess who once many days have been
 angry towards me
 May be reconciled in right and justice that my path may be
 fortunate my road straight
 And that he may send Zakar¹ the god of dream in the middle
 of the night to release [forgive] my sin

Affairs of state were frequently directed by dream. Ishrar as the goddess of war appeared to Ashurbanipal in a vision and directed the march of his army to victory and again when he was disheartened she promised in dream to give him her aid and to enable him to overcome his enemies in battle.

Dream deities

The importance of dreams developed divinity who

H. F. Lutz, *An Old Text Referring to the Action of Dreamer* in *AJSL*, 1919, xxv, 145, also A. H. Sayce, *Dream and Sleep* (Babylonian) in *ERE* v, 33

¹ Zakar is here the 'envoy' of the moon god

Jastrow, *op cit*, p. 335

Lutz *loc cit*

pre-ided over them such as Makhır (Mamú) a godde who had a mall hrine at Balawat and there were al o Mamu da ge Zakar and Zakar màš gê The e were not independent deities however ince Shamash as *bêl biri* the lord of visions outshone them all, and they became ulyect to him as his court attendants These divine being were addres ed in penitential prayers of which the following is a specimen

Reveal thy elf unto me nd let me ee a favorable dream
 May the dream that I dream be favorable
 May the dream that I dream be true
 May Mamú, the godde of dreams tand t my head
 Let me enter E Sagila the temple of the god the hou e of
 life ⁴

Temple sleep or incubation

It w s believed that answer to prayer and divine guid nce could best be obtained in acred places and that inspired dreams were induced by the pre ence of deity Suppliant therefore visited the temple where after offering prayer and acrifice they slept in the hope of having a vi ion from the god which would carry super natural directions for relief of pre ent misfortune nd ulyffering and for avoidance of future ill Such dream were more apt to come toward morning and all vision were interpreted by the *sha'ilu*, or *bârû* priest the n wer of such a priest or prie te being the *têrtu*, th divine decision, or oracle of the god Temple sleep (incu bation) for inspired dreams wa resorted to for all emergencies especially for the cure of di ease and wa y tematized as a recognized religious procedure by th priest , who became professional dreamers for suppliant as well as interpreters of their vi ions while relative

⁴ Lut , *op c t* p 146

Ja trow *Civilization*, pp 272 273 274

and friend of those unable to attend the temple often incubated for them. It is related (Arrianos *de Expeditione Alexandri* VII xxvi) that during the fatal illness of Alexander the Great at Babylon his general left for him in E-Sagil the temple of Marduk in the hope of receiving a revelation by which he might be cured. The use of the dream oracle was a common practice throughout the Orient in Western Asia in Egypt and in Greece. The origin of the custom has been the subject of several studies of the ancient currents of religious and civilizing influence between Oriental nations but positive proof is thus far lacking and the matter is still undetermined though it would appear that temple sleep for inspired dream had an earlier and possibly a more authoritative development in the religions of the Euphrate and Tigris valleys particularly in the cult of Eridu than elsewhere.

Causes of disease

Disease was ascribed to the open attack of demon to the possession by some evil spirit to the breach of a taboo to the evil eye to the machinations of a sorcerer or to the attack of an enemy through the aid of wizard or witch practitioner of black magic or it might be due to such influence initiated and directed by some offended deity. If the person was smitten in the neck it was the hand of Adad if in the neck and breast it was the hand of

Gauthier *Recherches historiques sur l'exercice de la divination aux temps, chez les peuples de l'antiquité*, pp. 107-108. E. Thureau-Godard *Heilth und Gods of Healing* (Greek and Roman) in *ERE* vi, 541-542.

⁷ For further details concerning the history of incubation the reader is referred to the work of Hamilton Bouché, *Le clercq*, and Deubner *Le culte dans le Génie Biblique* phy.

Thureau-Godard, in *ERE* vi 542.

⁸ Jastrow *Religion*, pp. 260 ff., and *Aspects*, pp. 31 ff.

Ishtar and if in the temples a ghost had seized him Evil spirits of all kinds fiends devils and demons had special powers and caused particular diseases The *utukku* were extremely vicious and with several attendant fever demons they assailed the throat *alu* attacked the chest *gallû*, the hand *labîsu*, the skin *labartu*, a horrible monster caused nightmare and ills of women *labasu* brought epilepsy and *lîlû* and *lîlîtu* were the source of infirmities of the night (probably excessive *pollutiones nocturnæ*) *ashakku* caused wasting sickness fever and consumption *t'nu* brought headache with fever and other fiends were equally capable of causing dread maladies Namtar the messenger of All to the queen of the Underworld, who sent sixty diseases and Ura a form of Nergal of the Underworld were deities of pestilence as was Nergal himself⁴ while witches were supposed to make men impotent and to rob women of the fruit of the womb It was believed that the demons of disease gained entrance through some natural but unguarded opening of the body as the mouth nose ears or eye and sickness thus became a struggle between the patient and the demons in which the aid of the gods was sought the cure being effected when the spirit causing the malady had left the body

Physicians and physician priests

Herodotos (1 197 cf Strabo XVI 1 20 p 745 C) declared that in Babylon the sick were brought into the public squares that they might seek counsel concerning their disease from those who had been similarly afflicted and he attributed this custom to the lack of physician

⁴⁰ R. C. Thompson 'Diseases and Medicine' (A.yro Babylonian) in *ERE* iv, 741-746 also Ja. Jastrow, *Civilization*, p 456, and The Medicine of the Babylonian and the Assyrian in *PRSM*, 1913-1914 viii 114

in the city. Information derived from texts lead to the conclusion that this statement was incorrect for the sufferers were probably desirous of alms rather than of counsel and his error seems to have arisen from overlooking the relation between religion, the priest and disease. For the most part, certain priests acted as physicians and the old Sumerian name for a medical man *A Su*, or *asu*, one who knows water, passed into the Semitic languages.⁴¹ Physicians and surgeons are frequently mentioned in the medical texts which give the rigid law governing their practice more particularly that of the surgeon and which prescribe their fee and penalties according to the Code of Hammurabi (*circa* 2200 B.C.)⁴² They also refer to the use of bronze knives for injuries⁴³ and lists of herbs and of other remedies are recorded in addition to letters of advice from doctor to their patients as one from Avad Nanâ to the king's son.⁴⁴ Physicians appear to have been a well organized body but it is believed that those who were not lay priests were held in comparatively small esteem by the general public since magic with religious ceremonies in connection with the administration of drugs was performed by the *asîpu* priests who were very generally preferred being more efficacious.

Medical texts and asîpu priests

The medical tablets in the *Shurpû* and *Maklû* series which come chiefly from Assyrian sources give numerous illustrations of the practice of the time. Of approximately 30,000 fragments of clay documents from the library of

⁴¹ M. Jastrow, *Babylonian Assyrian Medicine*, in *AMH*, 1917, 133.

⁴² The Law of Hammurabi King of Babylon, in *RP*, 1903, 1485.

⁴³ Jastrow, in *AMH*, 1917, 1239-252 ff.

⁴⁴ *Id.*, in *PRSM*, 1913-1914, vii 149 ff.

A urbanipal not less than 800 re medical but comparatively few have yet been deciphered and many of the text are copie of originals from the libraries of Chal dæa or of tablets of ancient Sumer and Akkad From these documents much information is drawn concerning magico religious practices and drugs used for the cure of the ick demon trating the prevalent belief that m la die being upernatural in origin could be ucece ssfully combated only by the aid of powers more than human and howing that healing without magic and occulta m wa practically unknown The demons of di ease mu t be driven out and water and fire were the sacred element most prominently mentioned in the texts for exorcism The *asipu* was the priest whose function it wa to di lodge the e fiends He was learned in the traditions of maladies and their causes, and wa an adept in the ritual of prayers incantations rite of purification, and all formula for expelling malevolent beings with magic orcery and material remedies for ridding the sick of the demons which posses ed them The mysteriou art of the *asipu* prie ts were jealou ly guarded, and being pre erved in f milie , they were transmitted from father to on There were school where medicine wa taught one of which celebrated for its instruction wa ituated at Borsippa acro the river from Babylon There were librarie containing ritu l and incantations for all occa ion and the e were augm nted by borrowing text and formula which had proved effic cion The great deitie h d ufficient power over all ill , mental and piritual as well as physical and the *asipu* prie t acted as the intermediary in approaching the god nd in ecuring the

J trow op ct, pp 110 111

W b r D o Beschwor g b d B by o r und A sy
r r , pp 45

Th p on in ERE iv 743

divine id It was customary for him to inquire whether or not the sick person had been guilty of some misdeed that was the cause of the malady not for the purpose of penitence or reparation but rather to determine if possible the reason for his falling under the ban and to enable him to differentiate and to select the appropriate ceremonies and formulas for each case since success depended not only upon the power of the proper formula but upon its correct application Error might be fatal exactness in word and in intonation was essential the ritual for the fever demon would not be efficacious for the devil of headache nor would Nergal respond to an exorcism addressed to Namtar The word of power recognized by all magic was of the greatest efficacy and usually the name of some superior spirit or high deity was used as authority for the command that the malignant being withdraw from the victim

Formulas for exorcism

The medical text gives many formulas for exorcism when ghostly evil men the following being some of the more common In the name of the great god E whose servant I am By the name of the great god or By Heaven be ye exorcised By Earth be ye exorcised It was considered very necessary to be acquainted with the appellation of the evil spirit concerned and to require exorcism in person a Depart Namtar black demon I am the beloved of Bel, depart from me If the name was not known the priest would recite a long list of malevolent beings of various kinds ending with the command Whatever be thy name depart The art of exorcism occupied an important position in the ritual

and Ea and Marduk were the chief deities of the healing cult. In an incantation text the exorciser asks Marduk to

Expel the di ea e of the sick man
The pl gue the w ting di ea e ⁴

The tamarisk (or some similar tree) was held aloft during the act of expulsion by the priest the following being a form of such an incantation

The man of Ea am I the man of Damkina am I the me enger of Marduk m I my pell i the pell of Ea my incantation i th incantation of Marduk The ban of Ea i in my hand th t mari k the powerful weapon of Anu in my hand I hold th d te path (?) mighty in deci ion in my h d I hold

Another rather similar charm reads

The man of Ea am I the man of Damkin am I the me enger of Marduk am I The great god Ea hath ent me to reviv the ick man he hath added hi pure spell to mine he h th dded hi pure voice to mine he hath added hi pure pittle to min he hath added hi pure prayer to mine the de troyer() of the limb , which are in the body of the ick man h th th power to de troy the limb by the magic word of E may the evil one be put to flight °

The following i an inc ntation for unknown pirit in which the exorcist calls upon several deities to upport his demand

When [I] enter the hou e Shama h i befor me Sin i behind [me] Nerg l i at [my] right hand Ninib i t my left hand when I draw near unto the ick man when I l y my hand on the head of the ick man may kindly pirit m y kindly guardian ngel tand at my ide Whether thou art n evil pirit r n vil demon or an evil gho t or an evil devil or n vil

god or n evil fiend or ickne or death or phantom of th
 ight or wraith of th night or fever or evil pe tience be thou
 removed from before me out of the hou e go forth [For] I m
 the orcerer prie t of E it 1 I who [recite] the incantation for
 the ick man ¹

Marduk w the on of Ea and acting a mediator
 between the sick man and the upreme healer he ought
 the advice of h1 father the following being an ex mple
 of uch con ultation

M rduk hath een him [the ick man] and h th ntered th
 hou e of h1 father Ea and hath aid F ther headache fro
 the under world h th gone forth Twice he h th aid unto him

Wh t thi man h th done he knoweth not whereby hall h
 be relieved?

Ea preserving the dignity of Marduk and giving him
 credit for equ l knowledge with himself suggested th
 cure replying

O my on, what do t thou not know what more can I giv
 thee O M rduk what do t thou not know what can I add to thy
 knowledge What I know thou know t al o Go my on M r
 duk To the hou e of purification bring him [ie, the ick p r
 on] bre k the ban Rele e him from the cur e

Purification and exorcism

If a god was to be appea ed emphas1 was given to
 hymns of praise penitential prayers confession lamen
 tations purifications and sacrifices Purification was
 effected by the symbolic use of water oil or fire and
 these were connected with the rituals of Ea and of the
 fire gods Nusku Gibil and Giru the sick person being
 sprinkled or bathed with sacred water usually that from

¹ Thompson 1 *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* 1 15

Id., in *ERE* iv, 742 al o Ja trow *A pects*, p 93

the Euphrate or the Tigris or being rubbed with oil
The following are examples of such text

Glittering w ter pure water
Holy water re plendent water
The water twice even time may he bring
May he make pure may he make r plendent
M y th evil *rabisu* dep rt
May he bet ke him elf out ide
M y the protecting *shedu*, the protectin_g l *massu*
Settle upon hi body
Spirit of heaven, be thou invoked
Spirit of earth be thou invoked

A simpler water ritual run thus

All that i evil [which exi t in the body] of N [may it
b carried off] with the w ter of hi body the washing from hi
h nds and may the river carry it away down tre m

In another incantation while rubbing the patient with
oil the priest recite the following formula appealing to
Ea

Pure oil hining oil brilliant oil
Oil which make th god hine
Oil which mollifie the mu cle of man
Th oil of Ea incant tion, with the oil of M rduk inc ntation
I pour over thee with the healing oil
Gr nted by Ea for a ing [pain] I rub thee
Oil of lif I give thee
Through the incantation of Ea the lord of Eridu
I will drive the ickne with which thou art ffict d ut of
thee

In the u e of fire an image of the demon wizard or
witch was made of wax or other inflammable materi l

J trow *op cit*, pp 289 290

Thomp on in *ERE* iv 742

J trow *Civilization*, p 253

and with hymns sacrifices and elaborate ceremonies the gods of fire usually Gibil and Nukku were invoked to consume it. When it had disappeared the sufferer was supposed to be purified and to be relieved of the demoniacal possession. The following is an example of such a hymn addressed to the fire god and his reply.

Nukku great offspring of Anu
Thou likene of himself the first born of Bel
The product of the deep sprung from E
I bring the torch to illumine thee ye thee
[recreer, recreer, each recreer, wicche who had bewitched the
 sick man]
Thou who have made image of me reproducing my future
Who have taken away my brethren torn my hair
Who have rent my clothes have hindered my feet from travelling
 thou dost
May the fire god the strong one break their charm

Immediately following come an incantation directed against the demon

I raise the torch, their image I burn
Of the *utukku*, the *shedû*, the *rabîsu*, the *ekimmu*,
The *labartu*, the *lîbasi*, the *akhhahu*,
Of *lîlu* and *lîhtu* and *ardat lîh*,
And every evil that seize hold of man
Tremble, melt away and disappear
May your smoke rise to heaven
May Shamash destroy your limbs
May the son of Ea [i.e., may the fire god]
The great magician restrain your strength (?)

Substitute victims

Under certain circumstances it was customary to offer the demon a substitute victim for the sick person generally a kid or a sucking pig the sacrificial animal being killed and the carcass being laid beside the invalid while

the exorcist transferred the evil spirit to it. In the following text Ea the supreme healer and lord of incantation shows the method of treatment and placing the victim before Marduk the day

Th kid 1 the substitute for mankind

He giv th the kid for hi life

He giveth the head of the kid for the head of the man⁷

He giveth the neck of the kid for the neck of the man

He giveth the breast of the kid for the breast of the man⁷

Sacrifices

In addition the god received offerings of various kinds such as a bullock a sheep or a goat or usually kid or a lamb or for bloodless sacrifice oil date fig incense bread grain or honey

Drugs

While reciting such incantations in appeal to the deities the priest usually performed manual magic by gesture and passe and administered various remedies alone or in combination with suggestion of their mystical and magic value. The ritual texts enumerate many remedies used by the *asipu* priest in connection with incantation these including herbs roots and other drugs such as onion dates palm blossom and palm seeds milk butter cream honey wine oil meat alt flour and the juices and seeds of various trees and plants. Many substances that were foul and ill smelling such as dung urine of animals and decaying matter were administered apparently with the intention of disgusting the demon and of making him stay so disagreeable that he would depart.

⁷ Thompson *Dev ls*, II, 21.

Zimmer *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion*, pp 98 ff.

Jastrow in *PRSM*, 1913-1914 VII 116-117 and in *AMH*, 1917 I 240-248.

Prophylaxis

Prognostication in disease and guidance in life to forestall and to avoid the misfortune of illness and of death were sought by the interpretation of dream and omen by the reading of stars and planet and by hepatoscopy and other forms of divination. Charms and amulets, talismans made of knot of cord, pierced shells, bronze or terracotta, tawny and band of cloth inscribed with magical words were very commonly worn as being potent in warding off the evil eye and the enchantment of the black art as well as averting disease and other misfortune while for similar purposes words of power were engraved on cylinder of stone on hematite agate rock crystal onyx lapis lazuli or jasper and were worn on the head, neck, limbs or hand and feet. The demon *labartu*, who lived on the mountain and in the canebrake of marshes was greatly feared for young children and protection gained for them they hung round their necks tokens with the following inscription: By the great god may it be that thou be exorcised with the bird of heaven may it be that thou fly away. Pregnant women in like fashion were accustomed to wear bands with inscriptions claiming the protection of some deity such as: I am the servant of Adad the champion of the god the favorite of Bel.

Appeals to the demons

In addition to the entreaties addressed to the deities for assistance in overcoming the activities of the evil spirits and frequently instead of making such an appeal these malevolent ones were approached directly through the medium of a magician, and various methods were used to divert them from their purpose or to appease and

^o R. C. Thompson, Charms and Amulets (Assyrian Babylonian) in *ERE* iii 409-411.

to propitiate them and thus gaining their favor cause them to depart. Such practice and ceremonies were similar to those of medicine men among savage tribes and consisted in singing wild dancing shouting beating of drum and asserting that the demon or devil had been removed from the sick man and had been transferred to an animal or to the medicine man or had been driven away. In certain instances the spirit of the inviolate was assumed to have been carried off and the medicine man would be sent often long distance to recover it and to fetch it back to its owner.

Uniformity of belief in Mesopotamia

The standard of religious belief as they pertained to disease and its treatment appears so far as known to have been practically the same throughout Mesopotamia and the neighboring non Indo-Iranian tribes and nations.

A pious sufferer

The following excerpts are from text on tablet expressing the lament and observation the suffering and despair, of a man who seems to have been a ruler of Nippur who strove and failed to understand the mysterious way of the god. Having been faithful in the performance of his duties to the deities he is not conscious of guilt yet he is stricken with disease and cannot find help or consolation until at the last extremity a high divinity intervenes and he recovers. His poem gives many details of his disease and suffering but the principal facts illustrative of current beliefs as discussed above are given in the following extract:

(My eyeballs he obviated bolting them away with) look
 (My ears he bolted) like those of deer upon
 A king I have been changed into a lion
 A madman (my) companion misleads me

I h d re ched nd p d th lotted time of lif
 Whither oever I turned vil upon vil
 Mi ery h d incre d ju tic w gone
 I cri d unto my god but he did not how me h count n nee
 I prayed to my godde but h did not rai her head
 The diviner prie t could not determne the futur by an in p c
 tion
 Th n crom ncer did not through an offering ju t fy my ut
 Th *zakku* pri t I appeal d to but he reve l d nothing
 The chief xorc er did not by (h) rite release m from th
 b n
 The like of thi had nev r been een
 Whither oev r I turned troubl w in pur ut

A though I h d not alw y et a ide the portion for th god
 And had not invoked the godde at th meal
 Had not bowed my face nd brought my tribute
 A though I w re on in who mouth upplc tion nd p y r
 w not con t t

I taught my country to guard th me of the god
 To honor the n m of th godde I ccu tom d my peopl
 Th glorific tion of th king I m d like unto th t of god
 And in the fe r of the p l c I m trusted the p ople
 I thought th t uch thing wer pl ing to god

De pite h devotion he i mitted with di e e nd
 indulge in gloomy thought de pairs of plea ing th
 gods recount h offerings and tell how the demon
 have laid him low

An evil demon h come out of h (lair)
 From yellow h the ickne became white
 It truck my neck and cru h d my b ck
 It b nt my high tature lik popl r
 Like a plant of the m r h I w uprooted thrown on my b ck
 Food became bitter and putrid
 The malady dr gged on it cour

I took to my bed un ble to le ve the couch
 Th hou e bec me my pri on
 A fett r for my body my hand w r powerle
 A pinion for my per on my feet were tretched out
 My di comfiture wa p inful the p in evere

 Th di ea e of my joint b filed th chief exorc er
 And my omen were ob cure to the diviner
 Th exorc r could not interpret the char ct r of my di e
 And the limit of my malady the diviner could not fix
 No god c me to my aid t king me by the h nd
 No godde h d comp ion for m coming to my ide
 The gr v wa open my buri l prepared
 Though not yet dead the lamentation w over
 The people of my land h d lre dy aid la over me
 My nemy heard it nd hi face hon
 A th joyful tiding were announced to him hi liver rejoic d
 I knew it w th d y when my whole f mily
 R ting under the protection of their deity would b in di tr

Another tablet continues the plaint and pa es on to n
 account of a dream sent to the sufferer in which Ur Bau
 a strong hero decked with a crown appear bring
 ing a me sage from Marduk th t the patient will b
 released from hi suffering

He nt a mighty torm to the foundation of he ven
 To the depth of the e rth he drove it
 He drov back the evil demon into the by
 The namele Utukku he drove int hi mountain house
 H confounded Labartu forcing him b ck into the mount in
 On th tide of the ea he wept way the gu
 H tore out the root of my di like pl nt

My ears which had been clo ed and bolted tho e of a de f
 per on
 He removed their deafne and opened their hearing
 My no e which through the force of the fever w choked up
 He healed the hurt o that I could breathe ag in

My lip which had been closed through exhaustion and strength
 He reduced their swelling (?) and loosened the yoke

My entire body he restored
 He wiped away the blemish making it resplendent
 The oppressed stature regained its splendor
 On the bank of the stream where judgment is held over men
 The brand of slavery was removed the fetters taken off

The patient then closed with the advice never to de-
 pair

Let him who gains the evil let him learn from me
 Into the jaws of the lion about to devour me Marduk in-
 ter-
 Marduk heard the prayer (?) of my pursuer he com-
 mended him¹

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

DURING the many centuries of the existence of the great
 Empire of Mesopotamia many changes occurred in the
 status rank and influence of their various divinities and
 there appears to have been a strong tendency toward
 centralization and the concentration of religious control
 in the hands of a few great gods particularly respect
 to political affairs. The function of deity they per-
 tained to personal relations with the people at least so
 far as they may now be determined were of a general
 rather than of a specialized character the particular
 traits and powers that characterize the healer are recog-
 nized in but few and the success of such divinities in the
 exercise of their curative powers caused them to be
 known as great physicians. Others exercised their
 therapeutic power as a minor function and still others
 are mentioned in the incantation texts in a manner that
 suggests the lower and dependent rank of attendant and

¹ J. J. J. J., *Civilization*, pp. 477-4

aid to the greater god. For the present the list of therapeutic divinities must remain indefinite and imperfect and the few here named are mentioned in the text in connection with healing although not all of them may be classed as strictly healing gods. Those who appear most prominently are

All tu or	I ht r	Nu ku
Ere hkig l		
Ea	Marduk	Sarp [^] nîtum
Gibil or Gîru	Nabû or Nebo	Sh m h
Gula B u or		
Nin k rr k	Ninib or Ninurt	Sin

ALLATU, OR ERESHKIGAL

ALLATU (Godde) or Ere hkigal (Queen of the Lower World) the chief godde of the Underworld and the consort of Nergal was also a healing deity in a limited sense being especially mentioned in connection with the cure of fever. In the nether world he was reputed to have spring (the water of life) the water of which did away with pain and brought the dead to life.

EA

EA (Hou e of Water) the third member of the first triad of cosmic gods and one of the chief deities of the Babylonian pantheon was associated with all the myths of the Babylonian cosmogony and in the division of the Universe with the divinities Anu and Enlil he became the King of the Watery Deep the god of the Persian Gulf of the ocean river and spring and of all water. E appears syncretism resulting from his identification with one of the oldest and most respected Sumerian deities Enki lord of the land who mountain

J t w p c t , p 0 1 r 1 ERE n 1 Nub g r
d P gel H db ch d r Geschichte d r Med i , 1 71

divinity had been given the added distinction of lord of the Deep when his people reached the Euphrat valley. Ea the old water god was adopted by the Babylonians becoming the patron god of the city of Eridu south of Babylon at the mouth of the Euphrate where his celebrated temple E.A.pu.w. located. He represented semi-human and semi-piscine the lower part of his body and legs being fish-like and covered with scales.

Ea was conceived in a universal sense and his fame had descended from very ancient times as the friend and general protector of the human race. He was the inventor of writing the possessor of supreme wisdom and teacher who instructed his people in the art of civilization, industry, literature and all culture. He was the source of general beneficence and so of the healing art and he was the lord of incantation knowing the potent magic which overthrew evil, thwarted the designs of evil spirits, demons and witches, exorcised the demon of disease, appeased the gods and gained their favour. When he opened his mouth and gave decision his words were law, and his oracles were announced with the sound of the roaring surf. The learned priests of the temple conducted school and were adepts in the ritual of incantation in the magical art of divination and astrology and in the interpretation of all omen and portent while the highest culture of Babylon came from his temple at Eridu.

Ea representing the healing qualities of spring and water was the supreme god of healing and was the patron of the sick and suffering. Appeal was made to

J. Trow, *Summa Akkadica* V.1 w. of B. Ginnig
JAOS, 11, vi 272-4 295 and in *AMH*, 1917 234

* J. Trow, *Ap. cts.*, pp 3-5

Id., *R. go.*, pp 275-27

Id., *C. v. h. z. t. o.*, p 211

GIBIL OR GIRU

GIRU, fire god and the ling deity of Babylonia assimilated to Ninku and sometimes to Nabû⁷ is mentioned in the incantation text as directing the fire for purification and intervened in the performance of the rite of symbolic magic by fire which destroyed demon of disease. He also acted as a mediator between the sick and E⁷⁴

GULA BAU OR NINKARRAK

GULA, an early goddess of the Assyrian origin, appearing as Ma Ma⁷ was a divinity of fertility, the mother of mankind and the consort of Ninkabtu Nippur and at Calah being honored with him both by the Assyrians and by the Babylonians. She was identified with Bau the consort of Ningirû⁷ and was celebrated as the ling divinity⁷⁷ her name frequently occurring in incantation text sometimes as the guardian patron of the curative art⁷. She was a great physician and a life-giver who preserved health, removed disease by the touch of her hand and leads the dead to new life but at times she exercised her diabolic power of inflicting evil and misfortune. In portrayal of her the dog appears as her emblem⁷.

ISHTAR

ISHTAR the most prominent and most popular goddess of the Assyrian-Babylonian pantheon was of Semitic

⁷ J. J. J. J. *Religio*, p. 220

⁷⁴ *Id.*, *Civilization*, p. 226. Also Zimmern, in *ERE* 1: 13

⁷⁵ J. J. J. J. *Religio*, p. 105

⁷⁶ *Id.*, *Civilization*, p. 200

⁷⁷ *Ib.*, p. 199

⁷⁸ Zimmern in *ERE* 11: 312. J. J. J. J. *Religion*, p. 175

⁷⁹ J. J. J. J. *Civilization*, p. 417

origin and was universally worshipped by that people throughout Mesopotamia but unlike other consort of the male divinities who were only pale reflection of their husband he was an independent deity of rank and dignity and was unsurpassed in splendor In Assyria he was Bêlt^o (Mitrê) the goddess of battle the goddess of heaven the Goddess of Totality second only to the national divinity Assur who is coequal he at times appeared as a deity of war he manifests herself robed in flames armed with quiver a bow and a drawn sword declaring that he marches before Assyrian king and again when the king is discouraged he promises through dream that he shall have his heart desire and that his strength shall not fail in battle¹

In general Ishtar was the gracious mother of creation and the goddess of love of fertility of childbirth and of healing She was the kind sympathetic mother of mankind who listened to the supplication of inner need and he was invoked for relief from pain from suffering and from demon of disease while as goddess of childbirth he received the epithet Mylitta he who causes to bear² In the Etruscan legend although appeal was made to Shemah for the birth plant which insured happy delivery the imperfect line of the text seems to imply that it was obtained from her

Ishtar absorbed the title rite and function of other female divinities in their own nature and thus appeared in different aspect and in different character

Paton in *ERE* II 27

¹ Say, in *ERE* V 33

J. Trow *op cit*, pp 233-30

Ib, p 234

² L. B. Paton "Astarte (Astarte) Astarte" in *ERE* II 11

J. Trow, *Religion*, pp 519-523 Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p 142 Zimmern in *ERE* II 315 T. G. Pinch "Birth (Assyro-Babylonian)" in *ERE* II 644

in various place devoted to her worship She w th
 tutel ry deity of m ny of the citie of Babylonia being
 known a N na at Uruk Bau t Shirpurla (Lagash)
 nd Anunitu t Akkad, while in A yria she ppeared
 a three godde e at as many seat being a divinity of
 w r t Nineveh nd Arbela nd a deity of love at Kid
 muru Prie te e were ttached to her temple and
 licentious immoral practices were officially recogni ed
 part of her religious rite while in some places e pe
 cially at Uruk (Herodoto i 199) pro titution wa a o
 ciated with her wor hip (Strabo XVI, 1, 20 p 745 C)
 Ihtar w an exacting divinity and visited her wrath
 upon tho e who di obeyed her mandate miting them
 nd inflicting di e e in punishment The lion wa her
 acered animal and possibly the dove belonged to her
 She wa equated with A tart of the Phœnician with
 Aphrodite and Eileithyia of the Greek and with Venu
 of th Roman

MARDUK

MARDUK, king of the god glory of Thebe founder
 of the odiaac nd lord of planet wa a olar deity
 probably Sumerian in origin who enjoyed only a mode t
 r nk in the p ntheon of Eridu nd Babylon until hi
 r pid ri e to power as the chief divinity of Babylon
 through the favor of Hammurabi (circa 2200 c) who
 effected the union of the Babylonian city states and
 c u ed their cult to become national He fin lly claimed

Ja trow *op cit*, pp 83 8 l o Zimmern in *ERE* ii 311

† L B P to 'I ht r, in *ERE* vii 428 434

Fra er *Ador s, Attis, Osiris*, 3d d i 38 f l J trow *op*
t, pp 475 ff

J trow *Civilizatio*, pp 232 236 Zimmern i *ERE* ii 311

J trow *op cit*, p 213 P ton i *ERE* ii 296 2 7 Zi

c *cit*

to be the upreme god of the Universe and even conte ted the position of As ur the national deity of As yria though in thi he was frustrated by the prestige nd power of the Assyrian priesthood As he rose to emi nence he wa held to be the son of Ea of Eridu who conferred equal wisdom upon him and combining in him elf the functions of Enlil and of Ea he wa recogn ed not only the chief of the pantheon but also a a co mic divinity He then appropriated the rites title attributes function and powers of all Babylonian deitie over hadowing them and reducing them to subordinate rank in their own cities except in the ca e of Ea whose pr eminance was uch that Marduk w content to b adopted a his on and a his co equal in wisdom nd dignity He rrogated to himself the great co mic deed of the older god and m ny B ylonian myth appear to have been reedited or rewritten to glorify him in the per form nce of the early co mic exploits as when in one of the most important text he displace Enlil of Nippur the hero who killed the demon Chaos Tiamat in the pre ence of the god and thu freed mankind

Next to Ea Marduk was the most prominent divin he ler of Babylonia ¹ He was regarded a the interme diary between man and Ea and had the power of calling not only upon him but also upon other member of th fir t triad of gods Anu and Enlil although Ea wa th last resort nd the supreme authority in matter therapeutic his preeminence in this domain dmitting no rival Supplications were commonly made to Ea through Mar duk who when implored for aid w supposed to confer with his father and to ask what the sick man must do to be healed but in reporting the con ultations with Ea the dignity of M rduk was preserved by the pecific declarati on of the former that his son knows all that he know

¹ Z1 r 1 *ERE* II 31²

while still giving direction for treatment. In the text he is called Marduk of Eridu thus suggesting the city of his early residence, as well as his close association with Enlil and with the temple E Anu the home of the ritual of exorcism while his own temple at Babylon called E Sagil (Lofty House) enjoyed great renown. In all the texts the method of healing is by purification incantation and exorcism. His consort Sarpânîtum is mentioned with him in some texts and the dog was his sacred emblem.

NABU OR NEBO

NABŪ (Proclaimer) an old Sumerian deity presiding over wisdom and over all culture was the inventor and the divinity of writing, revelation, and prophecy and was a seer who guides all gods. He was the patron deity of Borsippa across the river from Babylon where stood his celebrated temple E Zida (True House) and a renowned school which included medicine but his supremacy in his own shrine was usurped by Marduk and his became the son of the national god. He still retained his local influence however and was worshipped with Marduk even after the Persian conquest being receivingadoration in Assyria where temple similar to that of Borsippa was dedicated to him at Calah. In incantation text he is invoked as a healer in connection with Ea and other deities and the formula of greeting in letter from Assyrian physician introduce Nabû and Marduk or invoke Nebo and his consort Nana. Nabû was sometimes amalgamated with Ninku and identified with the planet Mercury.

S pag 109 also Thompson in *ERE* iv 742 J Trow op cit pp 212 217

Nuberg and Pogl oc cit

* J Trow in *AMH* 1917 i, 251, not

Id, *Religion*, pp 220 221 459

NINIB OR NINURTA

NINI, an early patron of Nippur but overshadowed and displaced by the cosmic god Enlil whose son he became was a divinity of agriculture a lord of the fields and a god of the chase as well as a solar deity disappearing into darkness while in Assyria he was worshipped as a war god mighty in battle. He was a beneficent divinity a renowned healer (especially in Babylon) and one who dispensed justice and with his consort Gula he saved his subject from the clutches of disease⁷ bringing back to life those who were near death. In Babylonian letter Ninib and Gula were the deities always invoked for relief from malady and they were affectionately remembered by their people great festivals being held in their honor at certain times of year especially at Calah. Ninib had a temple, Eshume du, at Nippur and another at Calah in Assyria.¹⁰

NUSKU

NUSKU a conqueror of all evil and a promoter of all good was a fire god (originally a sun god) a divinity of charm and messenger between Ea and Marduk well known between other deities. He was equated with Gibil their name often appearing together as Gibil Nusku and he was associated with Sin the moon god. In incantation text he is invoked to destroy the demon of disease by fire¹¹ and in this same manner he symbolically annihilates wizard and witch practitioners of black magic.¹

J. Trow *Cv iz to*, p. 197

⁷ *Ib*, p. 19

Id, 1 *AMH*, 1917, 1, 251

Id, *Cv iz to*, pp. 19-201

¹⁰⁰ *Id*, *Re gio*, p. 215. Zimm er in *ERE* 11, 312. J. Trow *Cv iz to*, pp. 19-201

¹¹ J. Trow *op cit*, p. 247

¹ *Ib*, pp. 226-22, 411. *Id*, *Rel gi*, pp. 220-221. Zimm er in *ERE* 11, 31

SARPANĪTUM

SARPÂNĪTUM, the consort of Marduk and primarily solar divinity was a goddess of healing who interceded with Ea for the sick for methods of purification and for the exorcism of demon of disease.¹ Her name (Sarpânîtum 'Silvery Bright One') was transformed by a false etymology into Zerbanîtum 'Seed Creator' or Offspring Producing and she was accordingly mingled with an ancient goddess Erua (Conception) whence her special function was believed to be protection of progeny in the mother's womb and she received other name bearing on this function, as Nin-dim the lady of procreation Ša-uru the goddess of the fetus and Nin-ina the lady of birth (?)^{1 4}

SHAMASH

SHAMASH, the sun god of Babylonia, the chief of the second triad of cosmic deities and a son of Sin the lunar divinity was champion of good and an avenger of evil representing justice and being the supreme judge both in heaven and on earth. The king of Assyria addressed him the supreme oracle deity he was known as the lord of divination or as the lord of visions.¹ and his worship was widespread so that at Larsa in the south and at Nippur in the north temple were dedicated to him both called E-babbar (House of Light) Shamash was likewise a prominent healing divinity his name frequently appearing in incantation for the sick and he was invoked to prolong life.¹

¹ Nuberg and Pgl. *oc. cit.*

¹⁰⁴ Pinch in *ERE* II 643 l. o. J. *tr. op. cit.*, pp. 121-122

¹⁰ J. *tr. op.*, *Civilization*, p. 225

¹ *Ib.*, p. 246 l. o. Z. *tr.* in *ERE* II 311

SIN

SIN the deity of wisdom, the lord of knowledge and divinity of light adored throughout Babylonia was the ancient Sumerian moon god and a member of the second triad of cosmic deities. He was called the son of Bêl (Enlil of Nippur) and was the patron of Ur at the mouth of the Euphrate where he was worshipped. Nannar (Furnisher of Light) at his famous temple Egi-hur-gal (House of Light) although his cult was most celebrated at Harran where he was termed Bêl Harran¹⁷. He was an oracle god though second in this respect to Shamash and was an ancient divine physician his name occurring in many incantation texts usually in secondary capacity supporting other divinities in their demand for exorcism and for the departure of the demon of disease¹.

¹⁰⁷ Jastrow *Religion*, pp. 75-76, 78

¹ Nuberg and Pglöckert

CHAPTER THREE
GODS OF THE PAGAN SEMITES
OF THE WEST



CHAPTER THREE

THE HEALING GODS OF THE PAGAN SEMITES OF THE WEST

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

LITTLE¹ known of the view of the Phœnician and other Pagan West Semite concerning disease and the only survival of their practice of healing are a few general facts which indicate that their methods were essentially theurgic in character

The Semites of the West and their records

Active in manufacture and commerce and bold in entering the Phœnician of whom we are least ignorant in the present connection were skilled craftsmen and their enterprise in carrying their wares, their art and their science to the farthest part of the world then known made them rich and powerful. Proudly inclined however they became prey to other nations who conquered them levied heavy tribute upon them and held them in subjection. So that from prehistoric time they were dominated in turn by Egypt Assyria Babylonia Persia Greece and Rome. All records of their national life and of their religious beliefs and customs have disappeared except the fragment of the writing of Mocho the Sidonian and Sanchuniathon which are regarded as apocryphal in their present form¹ and incriptions on monuments and tablets which have been found in the ruins of their towns and temples. These remain supplies

¹ Cook *A Text Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. viii n. t

ment d by comp rative tudie of imilar neighboring p ople of the me epoch the record of A syro Baby lonia nd Egypt and the comment of the writer of th l ter period of Greece and of Rome form the fragmen t ry nd imperfect material upon which the existing outlin of Phœnician belief pr ctice and general civi li tion have been con tructed

The Phœnicians and their deities

The Phœnici n like other member of the Semitic r ce exhibited a strong inclination toward religion The gods of their pantheon represented the various power of nature th ky the e rth and every import nt object wa nimated by a divinity There were cele tial deitie with co mic ttribute nd there wer terrestrial trib l dep rtment l nd dopted foreign god to ay nothing of compound divinities such a Eshmun Astart or Melqart Re heph new deitie who formed individu l trait Sheme h was the un god Yerah the lunar deity Re heph the divinity of lightning nd Anath the god de of w r Some of the deitie had been brought to Phœnicia by the early immigrants but more had been tran pl nted by their conqueror or had been adopted from other nation they everally exercised domin t ing influence on or intermingled with the people among the more prominent of these being Shamash and Nerg l of A yro B bylonia Osiri I i Uba tet and Bes of Egypt nd Aphrodite Dionysos Helo A klepio and Po eidon of Greece After the conque t of Alexander the Great the relation between Phœnici nd Greece bec m very clo e and many elements of Hellenic religiou lif mingled with those of Phœnicia especially the identifica tion of deitie with the adoption of Greek names

The nature of their gods

The generic We t Semitic name for god was *el*, nd

for godde *elot*, but the inclusive term for natural spirits was *ba'alîm* who represented holy stone tree water and mountains the word *ba'al* meaning primarily owner master lord and expressing the totality of character and powers possessed by all deities Melqart the great national god of Tyre who was equated with Herakles bore this name and was known as Ba al Mel q rt (Lord City King) and kings often had *ba al* a component of their name or compounded them with those of deities to secure divine protection E hmun a or (E hmun hath helped), their real name in many instances being unknown

Astart

The chief goddess of the pantheon was B alath or A tart the Hebrew Ashtoreth who was mistress of the city of Geb el or Byblos and she was one of the most important deities of Phœnicia She represented love fertility and the general reproductive power of nature and was assimilated to Ishtar of Babylon and A yri Kybele of Phrygia and Aphrodite of Greece having numerous temples in Phœnicia and being worshipped in its colonies and wherever Phœnician influence extended Hierodule (*qedheshîm*, sacred men and *qedhesôth*, sacred women) frequented the temple of the goddess and sacred prostitution which was general in similar cult throughout Western Asia was a prominent feature of her rites (Herodotus i 199) women even virgins sacrificing their chastity in honor of the goddess and to gain her favor (Lucian *de Dea Syria*, 6) Astart does not appear as having a definite association with healing (unless possibly in her general divine capacity) except as suggested by the myth that she discovered the meteor

L B Paton, Phœnician in *ERE* ix 889

Frazer *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3d ed i, 17 18 37 70 ff

tone or tone with oul which breathed prophetic
pirit nd cured di ea e

Functions of deity

The Phœnici n deitie were over lord and ruler of the people nd each town had it own tutelary divinity a *ba'al* who wa it owner king lord ruler or protector nd the ource of the fertility of its field and of its pro perity The god were conceived and de cribed a good nd helper who heard knew guarded heltered judged redeemed and aved their people the e relation being ba ed upon the general Semitic conception of the majesty of deity and the ubjection of men hence the people frequently declared them elve a the l ve of uch and uch a divinity

Shrines and temples

The ituation of hrine nd temple w s determined by the acred character ttributed to some n tural object tree pillar tanding tone pring or tre m in which a *ba'al* dwelt and uch a pot wa c lled a *bama* or high place fenced bout or w lled off a a acrd enclosure in which wor hip wa performed In e rly time there wa neither temple nor image merely vener ted alt r but t a later period idol came into limited u e In town and citie permanent tructure roofed nd with a pillared wall t the entrance were erected to helter the deity nd the trea ure of the anc tuary Both prie t (*kohănîn*) nd prie te e (*kohănôth*) had charge of the religiou exerci es and diviner or *sôphe*, are al o mentioned a being in ttendance (*CIS* 1 124 6)

Hir ch ll *Co p dau d r Ge chicht d r M d cr*, p 27 nd f further det il L B P to A ht rt (A htor th) A tart 1
ERE 11 115 11

Religious rites

Relatively little remains to indicate the character of the worship of the Phœnician but it is highly probable that their religious ceremonies were in all essential similar to those of other West Semitic people of the same period and stage of civilization. Their rites consisted of prayer, sacrifice, hymn, and votive offering, and animals (Philon Byblius 35) especially the first born (*ib.*, 38 d) were sacrificed a part of the flesh becoming the perquisite of the temple attendant and the remainder being consumed by the worshipper (*CIS* i 165 12 166 3 7 167). First fruits (*CIS* i 5) were also offered usually with libation and sacrifice of human victims usually of first born children were made in time of great distress (Philon Byblius 40 c) and also other than first born or children (*Diodoro* xx 65).

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

Ba'al marpe

Eshmun

Tanit

BA'AL MARP

A DIVINITY, Ba'al marpe (or Ba'al mār ppe) Lord of Healing (or Healing Lord) is mentioned in a Phœnician inscription from Cyprus (*CIS* i 41) though *marpe* (healing place) or *mārappe* (healer) may have been merely the name of a medicinal spring whence the lord in question would be only local *ba'al*.

ESHMUN

ESHMUN, one of the great deities of the Phœnician pantheon

Cook *op. cit.*, pp 117 121

Paton in *ERE* ix 8 6

LBPTO B 1 Beel B 1 in *ERE* ii 289

theon wa the god of healing and the chief mal divinity of Sidon po sessing ur nic and cosmic pect in addition to hi therapeutic powers A female deity of Sidon Ashima(t) his consort i mentioned in in cription though she w uperior to him (*CIS* I iv 5) but it i claimed that thi goddes wa none other th n A t rt It ha been suggested that E hmun wa origin lly n ture divinity and po ibly of pring vegetation e pe cially if he wa identic l with the B byloni n T mmu ¹ and th t being f vorite deity of the peopl he w brought with them in their migration to the Mediterr ne n where a the Phœnician developed pro perity and influence he wa advanced in rank from humble pl c until he tood next to B l Melqart and A t rt in the p ntheon Under thi a umption E hmun h been con sidered a counterp rt of T mmu of B byloma and holding the amentim te relation with A t rt t Sidon a that deity su tained toward I htar in Assyria and Babylon ¹¹

By repute E hmun wa the most beautiful of ll gods and a legend run that when the mother godde Astronoe fell in love with him while hunting in the fore t E hmun to e cape her ema culated him elf Afterward Astart tr n ported him to the kie (Dama kios, *apud* Photio *Bibliotheca*, p 573) where he bec me a god of the north rn he vens and the moon deity and anoth r myth give him a celestial aspect related to the t rry phere

The meaning of the word E hmun is by no me n cer

Cf II King vii 30

Ei len *Sido* p 127

¹ W W B udissin, D r phoni i ch Gott E u ,” in *ZDMG*, 1905, lix 502 l o J strow *The Religio of Babyloma and Assyri* , p 588

¹¹ Ei el *op cit*, p 12

t in Damaskios and Philon Byblios regarded him as the Eighth evidently through confusion with Phœniciān *šymuna* (eight). Possibly Eshmun may be cognate with the Hebrew *shamen*, fat robust and Arabic *samina*, to be fat whence the name may mean very stout very strong.¹ Following a late tradition Damaskios (*ib*, 352 b) make Eshmun the eighth son of Sydyk¹ while Philon Byblios state (36 a) that seven of Sydyk's sons were the Kabeiroi and that one of the Titanides bore him a the eighth Asklepios (*ie*, Eshmun). On the authority of Sanchuniathon Philon further writes. From Sydyk came the Diodoroi the Kabeiroi or Korybantai or Samothrakai who were the first to invent a ship. From them have sprung other who discovered herb and the healing of venomous bite and charm. These things did the seven sons of Sydyk the Kabeiroi and Asklepios their brother the eighth son first of all write down in the record as the god Taaut [*ie* Thoth or Thout] had enjoined them and to whom he discovered the cosmogony which they passed on.¹

The name of the divinity first appears in Assyrian treaty between Ashurbanipal and the King of Tyre (seventh century B.C.) in the form *Iaumu nu*¹ and later as *ŠMN* conventionally pronounced Eshmun. Although the god is vaguely portrayed in the myth and scanty record of Phœnicia he emerges from antiquity through the medium of inscriptions and the writings of classical authors with a more distinct personality.

¹ Boudin in *Adams and Eusebius*, pp. 203 ff. also Laidlaw in *De Nominibus* Gottes Eshmun in *ESE*, 1915 III 260 25.

¹ *I*, just right out. A Phœnician and Canaanite divinity both in (Laidlaw in *CP* 'Canaanite', in *ERE* III 183 also *ib*, IX 93).

¹⁴ Eusebius 'Eusebius' in *Roche* I 1385 1386.

¹ Boudin in *op. cit.*, p. 205. also Winckler "Bruchstück von K. il. Bruchstück I AF, 1898 I 12 not p. 192 line 14.

more clearly defined character than any other Phœnician deity except Baal Melqart and Astarte. He appears as having characteristics possessed by no other god while his special function of healing is asserted by all classical authors who refer to him, and by comparisons made in bilingual inscription in which he is mentioned. Recognizing him from early times as the counterpart of their therapeutic deities the Egyptians equated him with Thoth (Tautot or Thout) Ptah and Imhotep and adjoining nations made similar simulation. The Greeks identified him with Asklepios as shown both by literature (Philon Bybliot. v 8 Damascios *apud* Photios *Bibliotheca*, p. 573) and in inscription¹ this equation being further supported by abundant evidence in bilingual inscription while a votive tablet on which the name Asklepios was inscribed was uncovered in excavating the temple at Sidon.¹⁷ A Phœnician coin found at Sidon bears the image of Asklepios a Roman coin from Berytus has the youthful figure of Eshmun of the type adopted by Klamath for his statue of Asklepios at Sikyon rather than the more usual one resembling Zeus and a coin of Septimius Severus shows the Romano-Punic simulation of Eshmun and Asklepios youthful and beardless supported by two serpents and with a baton in his hand a type derived from the Greco-Phœnician period.¹ The earliest evidence for the identification of Eshmun with Asklepios is given by two coins of Marathos and by one of Ptolemais Akko (about the third century B.C.) if the emblem may be regarded as Greek transformation of the native

¹ Bude in *op. cit.*, pp. 221-238. Lo Elin in *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹⁷ W. von L. und u. Vorläufige Nachrichten über die Eshmuntempel bei Sidon gefundenen phöniciischen Altthümer in *MVG*, 1904, 28.

¹ A. O. Symon 'The Figure of Æsculapius in Ancient Art' in *L. c. t.*, 1904, n. 13, 1-3.

E hmun¹ A river near Sidon wa named Asklepïo and grove between Sidon and Beryto w called Asklepïo grove (Str bo XVI ii 22 p 756 C)

The cleare t and mo t direct evidence of the equation of the two deitie in the character of healer come from trilingu l in cription on the base of a bron e alt r dedicated to them bout 180 B C , and found near a therm l pring in Sardinia (*CIS* i 143) ° The text i written in Phœnicia n Greek nd Latin and mention E hmun A klepïo and Æculapiu each being given the ob cure epithet Merre the meaning of which is not cle r though it ha been interpreted a life giving life prolonging or protector of wayfarers etc The Latin version which almost exactly follow the Greek runs Cleon alari [u] oc[iorum] s[ervus] Æscolapio Merre donum dedit lubens merito merente Partem phœniciam ic verte Domino Esmuno Merre Altare æreum ponderis librarum centum c quod vovit Cleon [servus ociorum] qui in re alari audiit vocem ejus s navit eum Anno uffetum Himile ti et Abdešmuni fili Himilei The translation of the Punic text re d To the lord Eshmun Merre the lt r of bron e in weight 100 pound which Cleon of HSGM who i over the alt mine (?) vowed he heard hi voice [nd] healed him In the year of the Suff te Himilkath and Abd e hmun on of Himilk

To ummari e although neither Philon nor Dam kio refer to E hmun as healing deity and hi relation to medicine is therefore traditional E hmun and Asklepïo were regarded a identical t Sidon in the Phœnician motherland and if we may believe D ma kio at Berytos they were po ibly o equated t Marathos, Ptole mai Akka on the i land of Ruad nd at Duma ne r Byblos probably o t Oia in Africa Procon ularis, and

¹ Baudi i op cit, p 221

C ok p cit, pp 10 110

in the Spanish and Sicilian settlements of the Carthaginians and certainly so at Carthage and in Numidia Mauretania and Sardina ¹

That the worship of Eshmun was general is shown by the remains of sanctuaries dedicated to him in Phoenicia and many of its colonies Eshmunazar King of Sidon and his mother erected a temple in honor of the divinity at Sidon south of the river Nahr al Auwaly and Bodart either completed it or built another to the god (CIS 1, 3 17) Excavations in 1900 at the site of the shrine revealed its ruins and an inscription running as follows King Bodastart King of the Sidonian grandson of King Eshmunazar King of the Sidonians [reigning] in Sidon by the sea Shamin Ramin the land of Reshaphim Sidon of Mashal ŠBN and Sidon on the plain the whole (?) of this temple built to his god Eshmun Prince of Qadeh Eshmun also had a temple at Beryto (Damascus *loc cit*) several sanctuaries dedicated to him have been discovered near spring and streams suggesting that water was a part of the healing ritual and the ruin of a shrine at Cherchell in Algeria supposed to have been for Eshmun were found to contain a rough crude image of the god about a metre in height Of all the temples of Punic Carthage the only one whose site appears fixed both by ancient texts and by modern discoveries is that which was situated on the summit of the citadel dedicated to Eshmun destroyed in the siege of 146 B.C. Carthage was called the City of the King of Health and the god was termed Eshmun

¹ Boudier *op cit*, p 230

Cook *op cit* pp 401-403 cf Eilenberg *op cit*, pp 143 ff
C.C. Torrey A Phoenician Royal Inscription in *JAOS*, 1900, III 156 ff

A. Merz Sur un tertium du dieu Amon ou Eshmun à Cherchell in *RA*, 1914 III, 73-793 loc. cit. E. Tristram perçu à l'églogue d'Alger in *ib*, pp 72

A tart (*CIL* 1 245 3 4) in association which may receive support in the collocation of Æculapiu (E h mun) and De Cæle ti (A tart) in a Latin inscription from Afric Proconsulari and another from Dacia (*CIL* viii suppl 16417 iii 993 cf Tertullian *Apologeticus* xxiii) A nctuary to E hmun Melqart stood on low hill called Bat alo in the salt lagoons near the site of Kition in Cyprus (*CIS* 1 16) and excavation in 1894 revealed the foundations of a small building probably the shrine of this deity a portion of the ruin being placed in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford

Beyond the assimilations mentioned the evidence at hand gives no indication of the nature and character of the deity as conceived by the Phœnicians No object referring to him as a healer was found at the temple at Sidon and nothing is known of his worship or of the therapeutic practice of his worship, although it is assumed that they were similar to those of other Semitic healing cults of the same period

It would seem on the whole that E hmun was primarily deity of the renewal of life in the changing season of the year Accordingly he was associated with A t rt the goddess of reproductive nature and with Melqart the revivifying divinity and was perhaps identified with the Greek Dionysos as the god who gave new life and certainly with Asklepios granting the new life of health

TANIT

TANIT, an important goddess of Carthage but unknown outside that city and its dependencies in North Africa

⁴Budd in *op cit*, p 241 and in *ZDMG*, 1905, li 483 484
Id, *Adams*, p 282

Such is the conventional pronunciation of *TNT*, whose religious function is

was probably a native possibly a pre Carthaginian deity who in the process of religious syncretism of characteristic of Semitic genius was identified with various goddesses according to circumstance with Astarte with Demeter and with Artemis.⁷

Her temple stood on the Byrsa of Carthage near that of Eshmun and a large number of inscriptions to her have been found at Carthage many addressing her the Lady of Tanit of Penebaal (*CIS* 1 181) and the great mother Tanit (*ib.*, 195 380). She may have been regarded as a daughter of Astarte but almost nothing is really known of her although her identification with Iuno Diana and Venu has led to the belief that she was also a healing deity well as a protectress of child birth and of children.

Note It is highly probable that all the great West Semitic peoples to whom the healing deity did the Phoenicians but the only such divinity which has survived is Yarhibôl (moon Baal) lunar god who presided over divine pregnancy. Babel *Babylonische Religionsgeschichte*, p. 87.

⁷ Cook *op cit.*, p. 133.

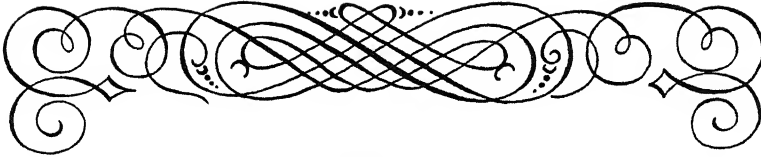
For the various interpretations of this phrase (literally 'f of Baal') cf. P. Bergler 'Tanit Penebaal' in *JA*, VII 1877 ix 147.

160 Cook *op cit.*, p. 132. P. Tonn *ERE* 1 92.

Babylonian, *op cit.*, p. 27.

⁹ W. R. G. and K. T. d. r. R. r, p. 373.

CHAPTER FOUR
INDIAN GODS



CHAPTER FOUR

THE HAILING GODS OF ANCIENT INDIA

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

The Aryans and disease

AMONG the Aryans of Ancient India disease was considered a manifestation of the will or power of some supernatural being. It might be from the god in punishment for sin or in the case of drought caused by Varuna or it might be due to a mere caprice of a malevolent deity. From the earliest time all morbid conditions of the mind and body except such as were regarded as divine vengeance were believed to result from attacks or possession of evil spirit which surrounded man on every side. A cure could be effected only by propitiating, appeasing or expelling them, and the god was appealed to for assistance through the use of Vedic hymns, prayers and sacrifices. Often the gods were vague and uncertain and the people believing that magic act and word had power to compel the gods to perform the will of men mingled the art of magic and sorcery with their religious ritual and practice.

The Vedas

These beliefs were a part of the religion of the ancient Aryans of India as contained in their oldest record, the Vedas (knowledge), the ancient sacred literature of India. Of these the Rigveda, the earliest though often ascribed to the early date of 2000-3000 B.C., is now generally supposed to have been begun about 1500 B.C., and

part are believed to have originated a late a 300 B C The Veda also contained the germs of many of the most important and time honored myths and legend of the Indian and these were closely interwoven with their religious beliefs They taught the worship of the chief energies of nature which are represented as superior and supernatural beings personified and ranked as the greater gods There were inferior deities representing the more routine phenomena of nature and other function in a descending scale besides a host of other spirit and demons greater and lesser but below the rank of god whose activities more nearly concerned the common people and their affairs for weal or woe These received scant consideration in the more strictly religious literature and are treated with much more detail in the myth and legend of the San krit epic and in classic Indian literature¹

The pantheon

The great god whose noble and miraculous deeds had brought all the benefit of nature to men were celebrated in the Vedic hymns of praise However real and active they were in the beginning the result of their beneficence had long been in the possession of the people Although they were anthropomorphic they were not sympathetic They concerned themselves less and less with the affairs of men and finally became abstraction increasingly distant and more vague Thus the religion of the Rigveda which found expression in hymn of praise and adoration intermingled in its later portion with naive speculations of things divine and human and with mythic tale gradually faded as a vital force It gave place to a sect characterized by lofty conception philosophical speculation metaphysical abstraction

A. A. Macdonell 'Vedic Religion' in *ERE* XII 601 1

refinements of the Unknowable belief o b tract that they escape the grasp of the most speculative intellect From its inception Brahmanism inherited the myths legend and gods of the old Vedic literature The great gods were theoretically the same but as the Brahman priests gained control of the sacrificial interest the ancient deities lost their primitive dignity and while still considered powerful their share in the popular worship became less By the same influence the lesser deities faded and ceased to appeal strongly to the people Their aspect changed Some were regarded as separate from the Vedic divinities or became demigod and godling Many of the older deities were forgotten or survived only in name and their cults were absorbed by later sectarian gods Some of them were adopted from the foreigner whom the Aryan had conquered Thus the place of the ancient divinities were taken by new ones a host of minor deities and departmental gods of tribes and villages who became anthropomorphic through the hand of the poet of the epics Polytheism became sectarian and more extensive The later Buddhists made the polytheistic Brahman pantheon nucleus and created new deities representing the forces of nature and abstract conception of religion incorporated the pantheon outside of India and formed the basis for the extension of a world religion

The early Hindu period

The higher classes of the priesthood and of the literacy devoted themselves to lofty metaphysical speculation dealing with the prospects of happiness in the future life and with abstraction of higher truth The common people on the other hand were personally engaged in counteracting the machinations of the host of evil spirits who infected their lives and threatened them on every side with misfortune, famine epidemics individual disease

and de th and of whom they lived in daily dread Such
 pirts oppo ed to the gods were often merely non
 god (*asuras*) Spirit once benignant became malevo
 lent nd sep rated them elve from the gods The wor
 hip of ninety per cent of the mas e was one of fear nd
 nothing being feared from the good spirits adoration wa
 paid to a black god or demon The deities waged ince
 ant w rfare against the demon and were victoriou
 bec u e of their superiority but it wa immortality
 again t immortality and wherever one group of fiend
 w s routed another took it place and the attack w
 renewed The older Vedic gods were enfeebled their
 opponents had become stronger The enemies of th
 divinities the *asuras*, the *daityas*, the *danavas*, the *rak*
sasas and the *pisachas* organi ng ttacked in compact
 bodie and fought more uccessfully Some of them lived
 in magnificent man ion in the Underworld They had
 tronghold in the depth of Patala and three fortresse
 one of iron one of ilver and one of gold in the
 heaven

The folk belief

Throughout and underlying the great religion Ve
 di m Brahmanism Buddhism Jaini m and Muhamm
 dani m and unaffected by war and political change
 the real faith of the common people of India was th
 deep eated belief in the vast number of mischievou
 harmful spirits who fill the ky clouds earth tree
 water and beast and to whom was ascribed the incep
 tion of magical practices Magic was clo ely allied with
 religion and witchcraft wa blended with the holiest
 rites These convictions of the people were recognized in
 religiou observances and penetrated to the higher reli
 gion of the Brahman priests

Fau bøll, *Indian Mythology*, p 3

Old nb rg *Di Religio de V da*, pp 39 ff

Mythology

The principal myths of India of its gods and their deed form an integral part of the religion and are related in the *Rigveda* and especially in the *Brahmanas* the epics and the *Puranas*. They are largely of Indo-Aryan origin, and the later myth are tinctured with the same poetic spirit. The mythology of India claim unique interest because of its unparalleled length of life. During 3500 years it has had a constant and organic development. Other mythologies have perished before the onslaught of loftier faiths and survive in little else than folklore. In India on the contrary though foreign invasion has often swept over the north west of the land though Islam has annexed souls as well as territories though Christianity (especially in the south) has contributed element to the faith of the people still it remains true that the religion and the mythology of the land are genuinely their own and for this reason have in themselves the constant potency of fresh growth. Underlying the mythology of the epics the idea is clear that the gods themselves are no longer independent eternal entities but however glorious and however honored are still like man subject to a stronger power. Indeed in the epic the gods are chiefly conspicuous by reason of their impotence to intervene in the affairs of men with the exception of Vishnu they can merely applaud the combatant and cannot aid or succor them in strange contrast with the gods of Homer. There are real gods however as well as phantoms. Such is the attitude of the epic to the Vedic gods who appear as feeble creatures unable to overpower the *asuras* or to effect their purpose of winning immortality by the use of the *amṛta* (ambrosia) until aided by Śiva and Vishnu.

K. 1th *Indian Mythology*, p. 5

Ib., pp. 105-107

Disease in Vedic literature

Reference to disease its origin and treatment to the rite of sacrifice to induce the god to protect the body and its several parts to cure sickness and to bestow health and long life are found scattered through Vedic literature. Those contained in the Rigveda, the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda are representative and the chief source of information for the study of the ancient Indian view of disease and method of healing but passage in the *Brahmanas*, the *Upansads*, the *Sutras*, and the epic furnish many instructive examples.

Disease in the Rigveda

In the Rigveda there is little mention of disease. Several diseases are named *yaksma* (disease in general or phthisis) in X lxxxv 31 97 *hrdyota* (heart disease) in I xxiv 8 *vandana* (? exanthema) in VII 1 2 *apva* (dysentery?) in X cii 12 and *hariman* (jaundice and heart disease) in I i 11 12. The acts of the god *Phy* are related and freedom from disease in response to invocations is granted the disease sometime being the result of sin committed (I xxiv 9). The healing power of water is emphasized (I xxiii 16 24) and the usefulness of amulet and charm to relieve the sick (X clxi X lvi lx X lxiii) and agitation (VII 1) is described.

Disease in the Yajurveda

In the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* text of the Yajurveda a few other diseases are mentioned *arsas* (hemorrhoid) in xii 97 *arman* (disease of the eye) in xxx 11 *kindi* (leprosy) in xxx 20 and *kilasa* (leprosy) in xxx 17. The gods hold similar relation to illness as those referred to in the Rigveda their healing acts are noted and collection of *mantras* for ceremonies connected with disease are given.

Disease in the Atharvaveda

The principal source of our knowledge of ancient Indian medicine is the fourth Veda the Atharva, here the earliest medical book of India. Here the coarser anatomy is given. Many diseases are named and among them *jalodara* (drop y) referred to in I x VI xxii xxiv xvi *apachit* (ore or pustule) in VI xxv *aksata* (tumor) in VI xxv, lvii VII lxxiv 1 2 *takman* (fever) in I xxv V xxii VI xx *vidradha* (bores) in VI cxxvii *pakshata* (paralytic) in *Kaushika Sutra*, xxxi 18 *kas* or *kasa* (cough) in I xii 3 V xxii 10 12 *balasa* (constriction) in VI xiv 2 IV ix 8 VI cxxvii XIX xxxiv 10 and *apasmara* (epilepsy) in *Kaushika*, xxvi 14 21. Disease is popularly ascribed to some supernatural power generally to one of the host of demon by which man believed he was surrounded. Method of treatment by medicine water and herbs especially and magical religious ceremonies for the control of demon are indicated. More than one hundred hymns and parts of hymns intended for appeal to the god for the cure of illness with efficacious incantation medicine magical formulas and charms are given with much detail in the Atharva in *Samhitas*. The practice with which the deity is to be accompanied are found in the *bhaisajya* chapter (xxv xxxii) of the *Kaushika Sutra*. The difference between the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda is not of time or medical progress but rather the attitude of the priest or physician in liberality in the use of the resource of the other. The more practical and later medicine was supernaturally revealed by Brahma and Indra (see Dhnavantari). This is found in

See for general survey of disease and medicine in the Vedic period Zimmmer *Alt indische Lebens*, pp 374-39 and for the whole subject J. Jolly *Medizin in GIPA*, III 1901.

⁷ See in general M. Bloomfield *The Atharva Veda*, I, III B 18 pp 5-83.

the *Charaka Samhita*, alleged to have been written by Charaka the Hindu Hippocrates (first century A.D.) under inspiration and the *Yajurvedas* a after Veda (*upavedas*) of the *Atharvaveda* composed by Suśrut (not later than the fourth century A.D.) from divin dictation

Ancient Indian views on disease

Disease was therefore in the view of the ancient Indian the result of an attack or of possession direct or indirect by an evil spirit or demon or a punishment for sin. Indirectly it might come from the curse of an enemy the evil eye or magical practice or by transference from another person or sorcerer. After the Hindu had accepted the doctrine of the transmigration of soul diseases and infirmities were traced to sins or offenses committed in previous existence by a ripening of deed (*karma vipaka*) (*Viṣṇu Sūtra*, xlv). The demon of disease were generally vague in outline and indefinite in number and were known as *raksas* (injurer) *atrin* (eater) *piśachas* *kanva* (the latter two of unknown meaning) and the lik *Tkman* (fever) a demon king of disease was flatteringly implored to leave the body and was threatened with annihilation if he should not choose to do so. Śītala (the Cool Lady with a euphemistic allusion to the burning fever) was smallpox mania a possession by *bhutas*, or ghosts and epilepsy was the result of possession by dog demon. Convulsions were due to *Grahi* the demon he who eats (*Atharv* II ix 1 II x 6 III xi 1) *Jambha* (Cruher) godling seized children and caused convulsions and trismus (*Kaṇś*, xxxii 12) *Apv* (dysentery?) was disease demon (*Atharv* III ii 5) goddess of impurity who was invoked to crush enemies (*ib*, IX viii 9).

Jolly *op cit*, pp 11 13 10 Medon II *The History of Sskr Literature*, pp 4 5 43

Deity and disease

In theory the deities were the benevolent patron and natural protector of mankind and when misfortune befell them the people looked to the divinity for relief. Disease was one of the calamities and throughout the term of his existence man prayed urgently and persistently that the gods should exercise their function for protection, healing and long life. Nevertheless, neither the Vedic nor the Hindu pantheon developed a divine healer of preeminence who devoted himself to the people. Dhātvarī was the only real divinity of this type and he was a pale shadowy personality practically unknown, having no following and arising at a late period when medicine was about to emerge from its sacerdotal clutches. The Āśvins were highly skilled but exercised their healing functions sporadically and were not depended upon by the people.

Invocation of the gods

The miraculous cure wrought by the gods are related in the R̥gveda, the Atharvaveda, in the legend and myth of the epic and in classical literature. The hymn and prayer of the Veda and the later liturgical text of the *Brahmanas*, in connection with the rite, formula and charm of the Atharvaveda indicate the method of appeal to the god. Each deity addressed was extolled in extravagant terms as the highest and most powerful irrespective of all other. The divinity although anthropomorphic were not clearly defined and individualized. Whatever their original character as portrayed in the Vedas and myth they became indefinite in outline and their personalities became confused. God originally representing diverse phenomena and forces of nature.

For the relation of this type of exaltation, E. W. Hopkins, *Henotheism in the R̥g Veda*, in *CSHD*, pp. 75-83.

upon which the welfare of mankind depended came to have common attribute. They were syncretized grouped and called by name while their older distinctive characteristics were forgotten. Many of the deities had possessed (and some still possessed) the power of healing mankind in some manner. Their blessing had long been enjoyed by man but now they had ceased their activity or if they continued to manifest their energy they performed their functions with an aloofness that was not conducive to an intimate sympathetic relation. They were remembered in the Vedic hymn the myth and the epic but they were no longer concerned with the ordinary affairs of life and dwelt in eternal calm indifferent to man's misfortune. Their ritual and magic employed by the priest required in the belief of the people potency and efficacy apart from the gods and the priests themselves were considered to have spiritual power over both gods and demons. The functions of the Vedic divinities were further blurred by the greater reliance which the people came to place on the Gramadevatī the tribal and village deities who were in close touch with their daily interests and to whom they paid honor by devout household rites of sacrifice purification by fire to drive away the evil spirit that infested the home and other elaborate rites.

Appeals to demons

The less intelligent classes retained their traditional primitive animistic beliefs. The fear of spirit of evil oppressed them and overshadowed their respect and confidence in the gods whom they regarded as indifferent to the calamities brought upon them by the non-gods or demons. Instead of supplicating the deities they sought to propitiate appease and gain the favor of the non-gods and especially of the *asuras*, *danavas*, *dātyas*, and

raksasas, uperhum n being ho tile to the god nd to ll the powers of nature Thi worship developed into a cult which wa widely recogni ed and practiced quite p rt from and independent of the orthodox religion though occa ionally mingled with it In thi system the godling of di ease were worhipped blood acrifice were m de and food honey milk fruit nd flower were offered The medium excited himself to a fren y nd d ncing wildly procl imed that the m ligh nt pirit h d pa sed out of the patient and had posse sed him or n animal It w in gre t part a hamanistic cult of typic l form

Magico religious treatment of disease

Di ea e nd it tre tment were however till matter of religion and the god were appe led to through th medium of the prie t who u ed prayer and *mantras* (pell) acrifice the healing w ter purification by fire nd remedie intermingling ch rm amulet nd the rt of m gic nd orcery¹⁰ The prie t were concerned merely with the ymptom of di ea e di gno i

now under tood wa unimport nt nd there do not ppe r to h ve been ny ernou attempt to differenti t betwe n di e e Th refore few di ase are named in the cred books except in connection with the demon uppo ed to h ve cau ed them and wherever po ible the e evil pirit were named in the ceremonie for exorcism The Atharv n treatment wa always m gic ve neered with religion hymn with an oblation or prayer ddressed to the gods, to the disease or demon of di ea e or to the remedy If the name of the di ea e was known it w u ed in the order to depart but often it w not known and the command was given in general term a

¹⁰ G M Bolling 'Dī and M dī me (V dīe),' in *ERE* iv, 762 772

whatever be thy name go hence Ceremonie with
 crifice to propitiate the god and to gain their favor or
 to appease exorcise and drive away evil spirits together
 with amulet charms and incantations fumigation
 purifications by water and fire and tranference of the
 disease demon to some other being (usually an animal)
 were all recognized in the Atharvaveda as effective
 means of dispelling the causes of disease and bringing
 about a cure whether with or without remedies and
 magic substances and whether given internally or
 applied externally¹¹ The Atharva n m teria medica con-
 tained many substances some of recognized intrinsic
 virtue and many more peculiar to the people and their
 religious belief the efficacy of which did not depend
 entirely on the remedy but more frequently on the method
 of preparation and administration and in connection
 with magic

Remedies

Water were sacred and are frequently mentioned in
 the Vedic literature for their healing power (cf Ap h)

The water deities are healers the water deities are cat-
 terers of disease the water cure all disease (Atharva
 III vi 5) They are be ought to bestow their remedies
 to carry away in (Rigveda I xxiii 16 24) and are fre-
 quently referred to in prayers for long life They are
 p nacea (*Kaush*, xxv 20) and employed to cure dropsy
 (*ib*, xxx 11 13) Flowing waters as from the Sindhu
 (Indus) are the most skilled of all physicians
 (Atharva VI xxiv) Water containing the leavings of
 offerings re poured on or sprinkled on and the patient
 is given some to drink (*Kaush*, vii 26) Plants were the
 offspring and essence of waters and many were used for

¹¹ Bl omfi ld op cit, pp 58 63 also Henry L Magre d n
Inde tique, pp 178 210

their medicinal properties (Atharva VIII vii) Hymns addressed to them panacea that free from calamities cure the toil of Varuna (drop y) and every gain to the gods (*ib*, VI xvi) Next to plants in holiness were the products of the cow the butter the milk, and even the hair the cow dung and the urine (*jalasa*)¹ Pieces of earth were used as remedies and the earth from a mole hill was given for consultation (*Kaus*, xxv 11)

Magic and magical remedies

In the Vedic religion man sought by hymns prayer and sacrifice to gain the favor of the god and the divinity and thereby to receive benefit according to his desire. He also sought by magic its spells and rituals to constrain supernatural beings and influence or control the course of events according to his will. The tone of the earliest Vedic literature is eminently religious the Rigveda consisting in very large part of hymns addressed to the god in praise and for general welfare for the use of the priest and contains only a few that are concerned with magic. The subject matter of the Atharvaveda on the other hand represents the popular side of religion and is essentially magic consisting of a collection of metrical spells to aid the magician and to injure his enemies. The later literature dealing with the humbler aspects of life shows that the domestic observance of daily life were saturated with magic beliefs and practices. The religious forms were propitiatory or perfunctory in character. The magical were coercive and in practice both elements were blended.¹ Remedies were conceived as having magical power to cure disease and were given in connection with *mantras* spoken charms or

¹ M. Bloomfield "On Jalasa" *J. L. Bh. S. Jah. J. la. m. nd Jal.* in *AJP*, 1891, xii 425-429.

² A. A. Macdonell "Magic" (Vedic) in *ERE* viii 311.

‘pell in metrical form a hymns and prayer addressed to the god Many of the Atharvan ceremonie were exorcistic in character (*Kaus* xxv 22 36) Many substance were believed to have magical power when brought in contact with the patient by inhalation or fumigation a the smoke from burning wood for expelling demon (*ib* xxv 23 xxxi 19 22) and for worm (*ib*, xxvii 17 20) Cure of disease is effected by the laying on of hand in connection with expelling hymns (*ib*, xxvi 6 xxxii 18) and a ring of magic powder¹ drawn around the house to prevent the return of the demon (*ib*, xxviii 11) A tripod appear to be laid for the demon by making an offering in a fire surrounded by ditch containing hot water (*ib*, xxxi 3) Poison¹ driven out by rubbing the patient from head to foot (*ib*, xxxii 23) External application of ointment must be made downward to drive the trouble where it will do the least harm and finally out of the feet (*Rigved* X lx 11 12) Diseases are charmed forth (*Atharva* IX viii) Amulets were god born and many substance were worn of the vegetable kingdom metal tone string and knot to ward off evil influence from the person¹⁴ Indraplaced thee [plant] upon his arm in order to overcome the *asuras*” (*ib*, II xxvii 3) Amulets are worn against disease in general (*Kaus* xxvi 37) for the cure of excessive discharge (*ib* xxv 6) for *ksetriya* (chronic or hereditary disease) (*ib*, xxvi 43), for constipation or retention of urine (*ib*, xxv 10) and for diseases conceived as due to poisoning by demon (*ib*, xxvii 5) Man released from demon by an amulet of ten kinds of holy wood (*Atharva* II ix 1) Demon repelled in by amulets (*Kaus*, xlii 23) sorcery repelled (*ib*, xxx x 1) and triumph gained over human enemies (*ib*, xlviii 3) Gold worn in amulet confer longevity (*Atharva* XIX xxvi 1) Charm

¹ G M Bollin ‘Charm and Amulet (Vedic)’ in *ERE* iii 470

again t dī ea e re also mentioned in the R̥gved (X lvii lx clxi clxiii) and again t poi on (ib, VII 1)

Physicians

Physicians were recognized as constituting a profession (*Vajasaneyi Samhita*, xxx 10) and the Atharvaveda recognize physician as well as priest as agent for the ceremonial cure of disease (e.g. V xxix 1 VI xxiv 2 VIII vii 26). Under the Brahman a certain number of priests pledged themselves to the exclusive study of healing and formed a second brotherhood ranking below the age who were occupied solely with metaphysical and theology. Later the *ksatriyas* (warriors) devoted themselves to medicine and shortly thereafter the profession of healing declined in rank to the castes of *vaśīyas* (merchants etc.) and *śūdras* (conquered races). All the elected and assumed to be physician priest practicing theurgical medicine with ceremony and sacrificial magic art and sorcery and often descending to humanism¹. The elite came to be despised by the priests and warrior and they were excluded from all ceremonies sacred to the manes and to the gods. According to the *Taittirīya Samhita* (VI, iv 9³) Brahman must not perform healing this prohibition being due partly in part to the defilement of his caste by being brought into contact with the sort of man (*Mantrayam Samhita*, IV vi, 2) and for this reason the *Āśvins* were excluded from the sacrifice. Offerings presented to Brahman acting physician became pus and blood (*Mahabharata*, XIII xc 14). So too a physician must be avoided at sacrifice (*Manu* iii 152) and must not be invited to one (*Vasistha Dharma Sutra*, lxxxii 9) neither may his food be eaten (*Apastamba Dharma Sutra*, I vi 18²¹ xix¹⁵).

¹ Bru L. M'dec t es re igo s, p 13 l o M edon ll d K ith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, ii 104 106

Neither Buddha t nor Jain monk m y be physici n
(*Uttaradhyayana*, xv 8 *Atthakavajja*, xiv 13 *Tevijj
Sutta*, ii 7)

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES¹

It has been seen that the ancient god of the Indian
were not strictly peculiar. The function of healing per-
tained to a number of deities who are mentioned in the
hymn and the epic as physician but (with the possible
exception of Dhanvantari) as an incident to their more
important duties of directing the various force of
nature. They appear as working cure in detached and
sporadic fashion rather than as a matter of devotion to
the sick and suffering. The chief Indian deities who are
mentioned in the Vedic hymn, the epic, and the myths
exercising their divine power for the healing of man-
kind though not healers in the larger specific sense are
the following¹⁷

The Aditya	Brhaspati	Sarasvati
Agni	Dakṣa	Savitṛ
Apah	Dhanvantari	Soma
The Asvin	Dhatr	Surya
Bhaisjyaja and	Indr	Tvaṣṭṛ
Bhaisjyaguru	The Marut	Vṛuna
Brahm	Rudra	Vata or Vayu

¹ For definition of form and Vedic reference to the healing
deities of ancient India. Mukhopadhyay *History of Indian Medi-
cine*

¹⁷ Several other deities of minor rank are mentioned in the Vedic
connection with medicine and a recent age often referred to as divine
reference is found in Indian literature. Raka, Simvali, Gungu and Anu-
manti were goddesses associated with procreation and child birth (Rig
veda, II xxii 8. X elx xiv 2). Other references to Anumanti will
be found in Muir *Original Sanskrit Texts*, v 346-398. Trit Apty 1

THE ADITYAS

THE ADITYA were group of deities who varied widely not only in number (sometime three six even eight or twelve) but also in name (Mitra Aryaman Bhaga Varuna Dakṣa and Amśa or Mitra Varuna Aryaman Amsa Bhaga Dhatr Indra and Vivasvant etc.) Their appellation shows that they were children of Aditi (the Boundless One) and some of them are solar deities (e.g. Mitra) or sky gods (e.g. Varuna). They are many eyed and leopards they are blameless pure and holy. They see what is good and evil in men's heart and distinguish between the honest from the deceitful. From Varuna they have received the moral duty of punishing sin and rewarding virtue. They bestow light long life offspring and guidance and are celestial deities who ward off sickness and diseases (Rigved VIII xviii 10) though the reference to the latter function is only of the most general character¹.

AGNI

AGNI (Fire) was one of the great original deities of the Rigved. Just as fire was a principal divinity of other Indo-European peoples Iranian Greek Latin and Balto-Slav. In later speculation Agni symbolises the immaterial fire of divine intelligence and is the conservator of the world. He is the divinity of sacrificial fire. Grhapati the lord of the home the closest friend whom the people keep always at their hearthside. He is the god of priests and the priest of the gods. He changes his form at will and one of his great deeds was to burn the *raksasas* who infested the sacrifice. He inspires men

referred to as divine helper (Keith *op cit*, p. 56) but the authority for this is entirely reliable. Bhargava and Atrypa are a part of ancient geographical divisions.

¹ A. A. Macdonell 'Vedic Mythology' in *GIPA*, 1897 pp. 43-45
1. Bhargava *L. Reigio v'dique*, iii 98-110

and protect them from evil (Rigveda I lxxxix) In the Atharvaveda he is the divine physician a maker of remedies (V xxix 1) who is invoked to restore to the sick man the flesh eaten away by the *piśachas* (vv 4 5 12 13) He burns away the poison of snake juice in the Ved s he burns goblins (*ib*, VII 1) and he is invoked to give relief in misery (Atharva VI cxi) The invocation to the fire god for snake bite and kindle earth (? cncr) is suggestive of the possible use of the actual cautery The principal Agni sacrificial rite against possession by demon was the burning of fragrant substance and fumigation Agni is invoked in prayer chiefly to protect the body the sight (*Vajasaneyi Samhita*, III 17) the hearing to quicken the mind and prolong life (Atharva III xi 4) and his healing function occupies a relatively unimportant place in the myth told concerning him¹

APAH

APAH represented the White divine mother who bide on high cleanse from moral guilt and purify They remedy they grant remedies for healing long life and immortality (Rigveda I xxiii 19 21 VI 1 7 X ix 5 7) and in the house they watch over mankind health (*Hiranyakesi Grhya Sutra*, II iv 5) In the Atharvaveda they are be ought for procreative vigor (I v 3) they heal the burnt burn (VI xxiv 1) they bring health and medicine drive disease away and cure all malady (VI xc 3 cf III vii 5) they are better healer than physician (XIX ii, 3) Likewise in the White Yajurved they continue healing medicine (ix 6) and are be ought to flow with health and strength for their worshipper (xxxvi 12)

¹ M edo ll *op cit*, pp 88 100 B rg ign *op cit*, i 11 14 H pki, *Ep. Mythology*, pp 7 107 Muir *op cit*, v 1 23

M do ll *op cit*, pp 5 6

THE ÁSVINS

IN the Vedic pantheon the Ásvin (Horsemen) are the twin sons of the sun¹ or of the sky of the heaven of the ocean or of the universality of created things and occupy prominent place in the Rígveda. They are the personification of the twilight that precede the dawn or of the morning and evening twilight they are celestial horsemen who ride in a shining honey hued car wither thou thought and announce the coming day or the approach of evening. They are ever young and beautiful their kin is filled with honey and they can change their form at will. They are the Indian counterpart of the Greek Dioskouroi (Kastor and Polydeuke) and reappear in British myth. They possess profound wisdom and as the guardian of immortality ward off death. They are invariably beneficent and merciful succoring those in distress or in peril. They are extraordinarily surgeons of great renown and many legendary tales are told of their marvellous even miraculous deed. In the *Brahmanas* and *Puranas* the Ásvin lose their cosmic character. They are still beautiful youth and physicians but new myths are developed concerning them so that they appear in somewhat different light and have other names. Nātya (True) and Dār.

The Ásvin are the physicians of the god (Rígveda VIII xviii 8) and they restore sight and cure the sick and maimed (*ib* I cxvi 16 X xxxix 3). At the prayer of the she-wolf they restored the sight of Rājāśva who had been blinded by his father because he had killed one hundred and one sheep and had given them to the she-wolf (*ib*, I cxvi 16 cxvii 17 18). They restored the sight of Upamanyu after he had fallen into well (*Mahabharata*, I iii 33 77). They cured Pāṇḍava of both blindness

¹ Or Bhāgīrathi considered as the fountain head of all knowledge in medicine (Mukhopadhyay, *op cit*, p 83)

nd l mene (Rigved I cxii 8) They provided Vi' pala with an iron leg to replace the one she lo t in battl (ib I cxvi 15) They knew how to replace the head when cut off (ib , I cxvii 22) nd they could re tore life They could make old men young they protected the aged Kahl o th t he took a young wife (ib , X xxxix 8) A a boon to his beautiful wife they restored her hu b nd Chy vana to youth with all it power (ib , I cxvi 10) Allu ion are made to a number of other cure wrought by them (ib , cxii cxvi cxix)

The Ásvin were not in good repute with the other god nd were shut out from the sacrifice becau e they h ve wandered and mixed much among men performing ure (*Satapatha Brahmana* IV 1 5^{1 14}) lowering their caste They insisted that the gods should receive them on footing of equality and eventually they regained their hare in the acrifice The Ásvins thu hared in the *soma* but the pecial offering made to ecure their favor wa *sura* (kind of brandy) with honey (ib , IV, 1 5) They played a part in helping to transmit the Yajurveda with it medical knowledge from the gods to mankind

BHAISAJYARAJA AND BHAISAJYAGURU

BHAI AJYARAJA (Bhaisajyaguru) (King of Healing) in the later Buddhism of the Mahayana (Great Vehicle) school is one of the many Bodhisattva Maha attva (po tential Buddhas of the highest cla s) and it i he who ha become the healing god of the Northern Buddhist

Th ground f r their cure p cially of blindne i that d w bring to light th t which h b n lo t in d rkn (M edon II *op cit* , p 51)

Jolly *op cit* , p 12 M edonell *op cit* , pp 49 54 B rg igne *op cit* , II, 431 510 K ith *op cit* , pp 30 32 86 87 141 142 Muir *op cit* , v 234 257 al o Myr nth , *Di Ásvins oder r sch Dios kuren*, Mumi h 187

In Tibet China and Japan he is replaced by Bhai ayy guru whose cult became very popular²⁴

BRAHMA

BRAHMA is the great Hindu god of Indian speculative thought the chief of a Pauranic triad Brahma Visnu and Śiva He is the creator of all things the self-existent the starting point of the cosmic system which is set in motion by his will He is the possessor of all power and of all knowledge and science He is a lofty philosophic conception of supreme might and wisdom and is the author of all he observes all but does not concern himself with the machinery of the universe nor with the affairs of man except in a contemplative manner His functions are vague he has not impressed the popular imagination and few temples and altars have been built in his honor He transmits his infinite wisdom and science to humanity or permits it to be transmitted and medicines thus come to man from him (see Dhanvantari) Brahma is considered a healing deity but not an active healer and few personal appeals are made to him He is deity who has fallen into oblivion

BRHASPATI

In the Vedas Brhaspati is the father of the gods the priest above all others the domestic priest the Lord of Prayer the Lord of Devotion In the *Brahmanas*, he is the Lord of Brahma the heavenly prototype of the earthly Brahma the impersonation of the power of devotion He is golden colored and ruddy pure and clear voiced He sings chants and his song goes to heaven He rides in a car drawn by ruddy steeds Without him the

²⁴ *Siddhīmapundarikā*, tr H Kern pp 376 392 also *SBE* XXI Hopkin's op cit, pp 18 198 Keith's op cit, pp 107 109

crifice doe not uceed He 1 Indra lly gain t th *asuras*, nd he 1 clo ely allied to Agni with whom h appears at time to be identified and it 1 po sible that originally he wa Agni in hi pecial function of divin prie t He protect the piou man from dangers cur e and malignity He ble e him with wealth and pro perity He prolongs life and remove di ea e (Rigveda I xviii 2 3) He know the demon he ward off fiend and de troy the *asuras* (Ath rva X vi 22) He 1 invoked to aid g in t orcerer (*ib*, I viii 2) and to conquer the poi on of erpents (*ib*, VII lvi 5) He 1 invoked to clean e from sin for life vigor (*ib*, II xxix 1) and long life (*ib*, III xi 4)

DAKSA

Th Pauranic god D ksa 1 the on of Brahma and ome time appear a an Aditya H1 name indicates intelli gence ability competency and he 1 regarded a a clever god He 1 credited with creative power and received the Yajurved from Br hma and helped to tran mit it to mankind ⁷

DHANVANTARI

DHANVANTARI w the chief Indian god of healing the phy ician of the gods nd the A klepio of Indi He w however a deity of minor rank of l te development and of a hadowy per onality In wh t eem to be th earlie t reference to him (*Kaus*, lxxiv 6) his acrifice 1 to be m de in the waterholder to Dhanvantari the ocean plant trees ky and earth ' which uggest that he wa primarily a deity of healing herb and hi asso

M edon ll, *op ct*, pp 101 104 Hopkin *op ct*, pp 180 181 Mur *op ct*, v 272 283

⁷ Jolly *op ct*, p 12 M edonell *op ct*, p 46 Mur *op ct*, v 48 53

ci tion with water o often an element of healing e pe
cially in connection with acred spring i implied by hi
origin from the co mic ocean The meaning of the n me
i uncertain and it ha been interpreted as he who
passe through (*tari*) the bow (*dhanvan*) a an i land
in the ky ocean ie a cloud and it is ugge ted
that he may have been a cloud or celestial divinity Dh n
vantari is not mentioned in the Veda and it may be that
he wa ab orbed by the rain god Parj nya

Dhanvantari i a fi_gure in the epic and *Puranas*, he i
wor hipped in the *Sutras* nd i remembered in the folk
torie of the Punjab of the present day He live in the
northe t (*Markandeya Purana*, xxix 17) in which
direction acrifice hould be offered to him to the god
of the *Agnhotr* (Agni Soma Indra Agni Sky Earth th
All God and others) and thi oblation (being clarified
butter) hould be offered at evening and morning (*Ma
habharata*, XIII xcvi 12 *Manu* iii 85) Hi sacrifice i
al o mentioned in the *Sutra* literature (*Aśvalayana
Grhya Sutra* I ii 12 iii 6 xii 7 *Gautama Dharma
Sutra* v 10 *Manava Grhya Sutra*, I xviii 8 II xii 23
19) A Brahman prie t wa requi ite at uch rite An
nnual acrifice of a goat or a h ep mu t b m de to
Agni and Dhanvantari and h wa to receive a leaf of
plant named after him

In the *Mahabharata* (III iii 25) Dhanvantari i n
epithet of the un who i al o a god of healing and it i
likewi e one of the one thou and and eight name of Śiv
(ib XIII xvi 24) It is doubtful however if thi identi
fication is of real significance in view of the tendency to
identify deitie of divergent character by yncreti m and
henotheism

In epic myth (*Mahabharata* I xviii 39 *Ramayana*, I
xlvi 31 33) Dhanvantari with other de ired thing aro e

the result of the churning of the cosmic milk ocean holding in his hand a staff and a bowl of *amṛta* (ambrosia Soma *q v*) Life giving draught longed for by gods and men

According to the *Puranas*, Dhanvantari was the twelfth and thirteenth avatar of Viṣṇu (*Bhagavata Purana*, I iii 1 ff ii 7) and the *Viṣṇu Purana* (IV viii) make him incarnate in King Divodasa of Kāśī (Benares). He was free from human infirmities and possessed universal knowledge in every incarnation. In the life just previous to his avatar as Dhanvantari Viṣṇu had conferred upon him the boon of being born a Kātriya and of becoming the author of medical science thereby being entitled to a share of the oblation offered to the god. According to medical tradition (*Suśruta Samhita*, I ii 12 16) the divine physician Dhanvantari incarnate as Divodasa King of Kāśī received the Ayur Veda from Brahma through the successive mediation of Prajapati (or Dakṣa) the Aśvin and Indra and then taught it to Suśruta and the latter's colleague. To Dhanvantari are likewise ascribed the *Dhanvantarīnghanṭu*, the oldest Indian medical glossary (though not of very ancient date) and a number of minor treatises. Having acquired knowledge of the Ayur Veda from Bharadvaja he divided the duties of physician into eight classes and conferred his lore upon his disciples. Dhanvantari is called The Health Bestowing One but it is not known that he had any cult following.

It is related that Dhanvantari suffered demotion. An attempt was made to euhemerize him and from an independent divinity he became an avatar and finally an

Moor *The Hindu Pantheon*, pp 180 183

^o L H Gray "The Indian God Dh nvantari, in *JAOS*, 1922 xlii 324 325 also Jolly *op cit*, pp 12 14

The following genealogy is given by Mukhopadhyay (*op cit*, Part

earthly king and leech who was mortal According to a Punjab legend Dhanvantari died of a bite of a serpent ¹

DHATR

DHATR (the placer) ¹ a deity of the Hindu pantheon an gent god ² who occasionally appear an Adity creator a father a developer one who put thing in place and he ¹ accordingly invoked in case of fr ctur (Atharva IV xii 2) He was likewise a departmental

II p 123) b d on *Suśrut S hnt* , ¹ *1 Ast ng hrđ y S mht* , ¹
¹ *Bh v pr k ś* , ¹ ¹ nd *C r k S mht* , ¹ ¹

Br hm

Pr j p ti D k

A'vini Kum r

Indr

Bh r dv j _____

Atr y Gal v nd oth r

Agniv ' J tuk r Bhel H rit K r panı Dh vant ri

C rak
 nd
 Drdhav l } R d ctor

S rut Aup dhen v Aurabhr P u k l v t K r viryy
 nd other

N g rju (R d tor)

¹ Te pl , *The Legends of the Punjab*, ¹ 451 490 492 494 4 9 505
 512 Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* , ¹
 1 n, 285

² M edon ll op ct , p 11

birth god who ordained procreation and 1 thou invoked with other divinitie (Rigveda X clxxxiv 1) Let Vi nu hape the womb let Tva tr mold the form let Prajapati pour in (the emen) let Dhatri place the embryo (cf Atharva V xxv 4 5 10 13)

INDRA

In the Veda the great divinity second only to Agni is Indra but in the *Puranas*, he rank after the triad Brahma Visnu, and Śiva He is the favorite national deity of the Vedic Indians is closely associated with Agni 1 lord of a hundred power and 1 identified with Sury (the Sun) He 1 ometime tyed n independent a univer al ruler though thi title belong more properly to Varuna He is a warrior god *par excellence*, nd in thi capacity he perform his greatest feat the conquest of the demon of drought and darkness and the killing of Vrtra who had impounded the water thereby liberating them and winning light for mankind Hi weapon 1 *vajra* (the thunderbolt) (Atharva VI 11 3) and the rainbow 1 called Indra bow

Indra 1 the mo t anthropomorphic of all the Hindu deities He ha thou and eye and many hand but he differ from other Vedic god in their esentially moral character nd hi body 1 cover d with eye (originally *pudenda muliebris*) through Gautama curse in punishment for adultery with Ahalya the wife of the sage He w addicted to soma into which he wa beguiled by the demon Namuci and drank it to the detriment of hi moral standing Chy vana paralyzed his arm when h attempted to prevent the Aśvin from making him young but thi wa ub equently relieved by the Aśvin with the assistance of Sara vati by the use of an mule (Vajasa

M Bloomfield Th Story of Indra d N uci 1 *JAOS*, [1 91] 1893 xv 143 1 3

eyi Samhita xix 80 95) In modern India Indra is a rain godling of minor rank ⁴

Indra is a healing deity in very minor capacity. He cured Apala of leprosy and her father of baldness (Rigveda VIII lxxx). Indra and Agni are called upon to cure children of worms and they succeeded in laying the female demon (Atharva V xxxiii 1). His physicians have many healing remedies (*Vajasaneyi Samhita*, xix 12 16, xx 3 56 ff). The knowledge of medicine was supernaturally revealed by Indra who aided in transmitting it to mankind (cf. Dhanvantari).

THE MARUTS

In the Veda the Maruts are given a prominent place. They are the storm god, the storm clouds, the storm wind. They are brother or son of Rudra and are identical with the Rudra. They are of the company of the triceuten god and are also called the host of the Maruts while their number is given as thrice even and thrice sixty. They were born from the laughter of lightning. The brothers are of equal age, have grown up together and are of one mind; they are elf-luminous and golden of unlike brightness. They ride in a car which gleams with lightning. They are fierce and terrible yet playful as children. They make a noise like thunder and are the bringer of heaven while their great exploit is the making of rain. Like Rudra they have a dual aspect; frequently they are malevolent and at times they are truly benevolent. They are mentioned together with their father Rudra (*q v*) as possessing pure and beneficent remedies (Rigveda II xxxiii 13 VII xxxv 6) which they bring from afar from the river of Sindhu and Aikana the earth.

⁴ Crook *op cit*, I 6 73 77

M d II *op cit*, pp 54 66 Bergaigne *op cit*, pp 15 1
Hopkins *op cit*, pp 12 141

(*ie*, cloud ocean), and the mountain and the e they
be tow like rain (*ib*, VIII xx 23 26)

RUDRA

IN the Vedic pantheon Rudra is the storm deity the
Howler the Roarer the terrible god of storms
From the *Brahmanas* on he is identified with Śiva and is
called Rudra Śiva. He bears the name Tryambak a
being born of three mother and is the father of the
Rudras or Marut (*qv*). He shines like a brilliant sun
and rides in a dazling car; he wears a wonderful neck
lace and in his hand holds bow and arrow and the
thunderbolt his lightning shaft descends upon the earth
and brings disease and death to men and cattle. He is
fierce and strong a terrible deity whose anger is feared
and he is implored to restrain his wrath. He has a dual
aspect. He is malevolent a cheat a robber and a de-
ceiver but he is also intelligent wise beneficent and the
master of purifying winds which drive away miasm and
other poison from the atmosphere. His arrow and spear
were reputed to bring disease and sharp pain (? colic)
and Rudra's dart (*śula*) is invoked (*Kaus*, xxxi 7). In
his hand he holds the fairest remedy (Rigveda I cxiv
5) a thousand remedy (*ib*, VII xlv 3) for illness with
which he is implored to remove (Atharva XIX x 6). He
disease from man and beast and to make them sound and
well (*ib*, I xliii 6 cxiv 1). He has a potent remedy called
jalasa, which was probably his urine (*ie*, rain) (*ib*, VI
lvii 2) though according to a later interpretation it was
cow's urine (*ib*, II xxvii, 6). Vayu or Vata is associated
with him. Rudra is a divine physician (White Yajur
veda xvi 5) the physician of physicians (Rigveda II

Mendonsoff *op cit*, pp 77 81. Bergaignon *op cit*, ii 36 40.
H. P. K. *op cit*, pp 1 170. Keith *op cit*, pp 3 40. Muir *op cit*,
v 147 154.

xxxiii 4) and his hand is restorative and healing (*ib*, II xxxiii 7) He is lord of all remedies (*ib*, V xlii 11) and he bestows them (*ib*, II xxxiii 12) so that he is sought by his worshippers to avert suffering from their children (*ib*, VII xlii 2) His healing functions are all appealed to for a wound or bruise (Atharva VI lvi) and his curing aid is invoked with Soma (*ib*, VII xlii) ⁷

SARASVATI

In the Rigveda Sarasvati is the goddess of river and is spoken of in connection with Agni and Savitr. In the *Brahmanas*, she is the goddess of eloquence and wisdom. Sarasvati assisted the Āśvin in restoring to Indra the vigor he had lost (White Yajurveda xix 12) he is associated with deities who assist procreation and bestow wealth, progeny and immortality (Rigveda II xli 17 X xxx 12 clxxxiv 2 Atharva V xxv 3)

SAVITR

In the Rigveda, Savitr (Stimulator) is a form of the sun god personifying the divine power of the sun. He alone is lord of vivifying power, the exciter of all motion and activity. To him is attributed mighty splendor and he goes in a golden chariot seeing all creature. The golden-handed Savitr moves between heaven and earth, he sets the sun in motion. He is a divine physician who drives away disease (Rigveda I xxxv 9) and removes it (*ib*, X c 8) and he bestows long life on man (*ib*, IV liv 2). In modern science he would represent heliotherapy.

⁷ Macdonell, *op cit*, pp 74-77. Bergaigne, *op cit*, iii 31-38. Keith, *op cit*, pp 38-82-83. Muir, *op cit*, iv 299-320.

Macdonell, *op cit*, pp 86-88. Bergaigne, *op cit*, i 325-38, Muir, *op cit*, v 337-343.

Macdonell, *op cit*, pp 32-35. Bergaigne, *op cit*, iii 38-64. Muir, *op cit*, v 16-170.

SOMA

SOMA (Pres ed Juice) a Vedic deity to whom the whole of the ninth book of the Rigveda is devoted is identical with the Avestan Haoma (*q v*) and the sacrifice to him forms the main feature of the ritual of the Rigveda. He was a drink made from a plant which cannot be identified with any known existing species and whose abode was on the top of the mountain whence it was brought to Indra by an eagle. The juice was prepared from the young shoot of the plant and being filtered and mixed with milk, sour milk, honey or barley water became *amrita* (or *amṛta*) the celestial nectar of the gods loved by gods and men which gave immortality to those who drank it. The juice of a ruddy brown color flowed with the speed of lightning and gave out a sound like thunder. It was exhilarating and caused ecstasy of feeling, its deification probably being due to these qualities. Most of the great and successful feats of the gods were performed under its influence with the strength and courage it gave them. Soma is called the celestial child born of the unbound sky, bird of heaven, lord of plants, king of the gods and mortal king of the whole earth. He was a healing deity. He was medicine for the sick, he led whatever was sick (Rigveda VIII lxi 17) and made the blind to see and the lame to walk (*ib*, VIII lxxviii 2, X xxv 11). He was the guardian of men's bodies (*ib*, VIII xlviii 9), he bestowed length of life in this world (*ib* I xci

VIII xlviii 4, 7, IX iv 6, xci 6). He rendered powerless (Atharva IV 6). He gave light, granted blessing, slew demons, dispelled sin from the heart and promoted truth.

In post-Vedic literature (and perhaps in the late Vedic period) Soma is connected with the moon and becomes a lunar deity.

According to the epic and *Puranas*, Soma at one time

who lost in the flood with many other precious things and both god and demon desired it. The deities consulted Vānu once without it they had been waning in power so that the demon were gaining the advantage in their conflict. Vānu advised that the ocean of milk should be churned and to assist he became incarnate as a tortoise (the second Great Avatar). After prolonged churning by means of the mountain Mandara which was poised on the tortoise and around which the cosmic serpent Vākyā wrapped and pulled from either end by god and demon Dhanvantari (*qv*) the physician of the god appeared bearing the cup of *amṛta*. This delighted both god and demon but the former finally gained the *amṛta* and thereby acquired sufficient strength to drive them in time the demon to their underground abode. In this myth the celestial origin of Soma from the sky ocean is obvious.⁴⁰

SURYA

SURYA, one of the early Vedic divinities of the sun whose name is etymologically connected with the Greek ἥλιος the most concrete of the Indian solar deities and in Indian astrology the function of the special sun god is held by Savitr (*qv*). Although he became a faded deity according to the *Brahmanas*, his worship continued under the name of Suraj. In the R̥gveda he drives away diseases and evil dreams (X xxxvii 4). In the Atharvaveda (I xxii of R̥gveda I l 11) he is invoked to cure heart burn and jaundice and to bring back the ruddy hue of health; he is bidden to heal putrefaction (Atharv VI lxxxiii 1). Indirectly he cures cough (*ib*, VII cvii) and he is entreated for clear vision (*ib*, XIX xliii 3).⁴¹

⁴⁰ Monier-Williams, *op cit*, pp 104-115. Bergaigne, *op cit*, I 148-225. Keith, *op cit*, pp 4-490. I, 16-137. Spiegel, *Die risch Period d hre Z t nde*, pp 16-178. Monier-Williams, *op cit*, II 46, V, 25-271.

⁴¹ Quicker, *The Sanskrit Poems of Myra*, no 32.

There was in ancient India a wide spread cult of the sun and the Sauras and his worshippers were called formed one of the great sects of early Hinduism especially in the north. The Iranian later exercised much influence on this sect. To this latter source is probably due the tradition associated with the Sanskrit poet Māyur (presumably of the first half of the seventh century A.D.) who afflicted with leprosy was healed by Surya in whose honor he then composed his *Suryaśataka* (Hundred Verses in praise of the Sun). In like manner Samba was cured of leprosy by Surya⁴ and the tradition is doubtless to be connected with the old Persian belief (Herodotus 1.138) that leprosy and white leprosy were in punishment for sin against the sun. According to the *Suryaśataka* (No. 101) the sun not only gives freedom from disease, but he alone makes anew and cures those who because long rank with multitude of sins have shriveled noses, feet and hands whose limbs are ulcerous and who make gurgling indistinct noise (No. 6)⁴⁴

TVASTR

TVASTR is an obscure member of the Vedic pantheon of very feeble personality. As his name implies he is father and a cunning artificer, a divine artifex who is concerned in the repair of man's body (*Vajasaneyi Samhita*, xxxviii. 9). Once (Atharva VI. lxxiii. 3) he is entreated to smoothen down what of our body is torn apart and he is invoked for long life (*ib.*, VI. lxxviii. 3). He formed the germ in the womb following impregnation (*ib.*, V. xxv. 5) and was therefore believed to preside

⁴ Qu. Knoblo, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 32, 34, 37.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 35, 37.

⁴⁴ Cf. *ib.* pp. 114, 115. McDowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 32. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 89. Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 8, 138, 139, 183, 184, Muir, *op. cit.*, v. 155, 161.

over generation and to be tow offspring (Rigveda III
iv 9 Atharva II xxix 2)

VARUNA

VARUNA 1 one of the olde t deities of the Vedas where
he rank only econd to Indra (*qv*) and in many re
pect hi position 1 comparable with th t of Zeu in the
Greek pantheon He 1 closely related at lea t in func
tion to the Iranian Ahura Mazda He is lord over all
lord of the all embracing circle of the heavens, earth and
ea lord of both god and men King of Water and
lord of the Ocean In the olde t trata of the Rigved
he ha been regarded as lord of light both by day and by
night but later he is rather lord of the sky by night On
the other hand he 1 closely associated with water In the
Atharvaveda he 1 only a lord of waters and it is conje
ctured that primarily he was a god of the celestial river
ie, of the Milky Way He 1 clo ely a ociated with Mitra
a un god Hi abode is in the sky in a golden man ion
in which he it looking on all deeds and to which he
mount in hi shining car He 1 the upholder of phy ic l
and mor l order he puni he in and rewards virtue He
1 the guardian of immortality (Rigveda VIII xli 2)
nd he can t ke way life or prolong it (*ib*, I xxiv 11
xxv 12 VII lxxxviii 4 lxxxix 1) He is a healing seer
(*ib*, I xxiv 8 11) Thy remedies O King are a hun
dred a thousand (*ib*, I xxiv 9) As a moral governor
and lord of the water he end dropsy in punishment for
in and especially for falsehood (*ib*, VII lxxxix) and he
is repeatedly besought to loose from the fetters with
which he has bound the offender (*ib*, I xxiv 15 xxv 21
V lxxxv 8 VI lxxiv 4 Atharva I x) In the Atharva
veda (I xxv 3) in punishment for sin he sends fever

⁴ Macdonell *op cit*, pp 116 118 also Berg igne *op cit*, iii 38

4 Hill br ndt, *Vedische Mythologie*, i 513 535

peculiarly drop y (*ib*, IV xvi 7) and he is invoked to relieve from drop y evil dream and misfortune (*ib*, VII lxxxiii) but in the White Yajurveda he is a physician (xxviii 34) and lord of physician (xxi 40) while one who performs the rite in honor of his ancestor under Varuna constellation Satabhija (Hundred Remedies) will become a successful physician (*Mahabharata*, XIII lxxxix 12) ⁴

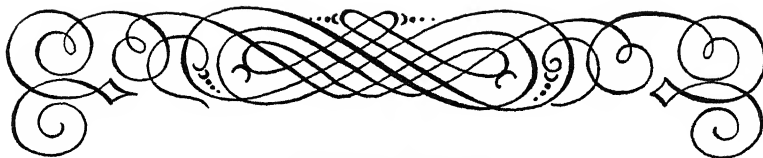
VATA OR VAYU

VATA, or Vayu is Vedic deity of air and wind a companion of Indra and a soma drinker is second only to him He is associated with Rudra He rides in a char which is drawn by ninety nine or sometimes one thousand horses He rushes through the air and never rests His roaring is heard but he is never seen He is the breath of the god and in his flight he wafts healing and blessing upon mankind (*Rigveda* X clxxxvi) this power being doubtless representative of the purifying nature of wind (*Atharva* III xxxi 2) and in the White Yajurveda (xx 15) he is thought to free from all disease ⁴⁷

⁴ *Monisthology*, pp 22-29 Hopkins, *Psychology*, pp 11-122
Berggren's op cit, III 110-14 Hillbrandt *op cit*, III 3-7 Mur
op cit v 58-7 d

⁴⁷ *Monisthology*, pp 1-3 Keith *op cit*, p 7 Berggren
op cit, I, 24-28 Hillbrandt *op cit*, III 32-33

CHAPTER FIVE
IRANIAN GODS



CHAPTER FIVE

THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT IRAN

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

IN ancient Iran medical doctrine and practice were determined by the sacred book and were under the direction and control of the priest acting as physician

Iranian religion The Avesta

The Iranian religion, which was reformed by Zoroaster was conceived on a highly moral and elevated plane prevailed in the land from an early period but of its holy text the Avesta only about one third has survived to form the scripture of the Parsis of India and of their co-religionists the Gebers in Persia Originally inscribed with golden ink on thousands of cowhide it was religiously guarded in the Stronghold of Record but a large part is tradition ally said to have been destroyed during the invasion of Alexander the Great so that the Avesta as it exists today is a reconstruction dating from the reign of Shapur II (A.D. 310-379). The portions called the *Gathas* (Song) bear internal evidence in phraseology and dialect of being the oldest and is ascribed by tradition to Zoroaster himself but some other parts reveal the fact that they were written at least in their present form in a dead language. The Avesta is divided into the *Yasna* (including the *Gathas*) the *Yashts* the *Visparad*, the *Vendidad*, etc. and treatise of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) and his teachings cosmology and legend.

precept for sanctity and a religious life the moral and civil law and liturgy and ritual Of all these texts the *Vendidad* (or *Viderdat*, 'Law against Demon') is of peculiar interest to physicians since it makes frequent mention of disease while chapters xxxviii are almost wholly medicinal

The religion of Zoroaster

The salient feature of the religion of Zoroaster is an essential monotheism with an apparent dualism The Principle of Good is Ahura Mazda (or Ormazd) and the Principle of Evil is Angra Mainyu (Ahriman) each attended and aided by lesser divine or infernal beings partaking of their respective character depositories of their respective powers and attributes and acting as agents with varied functions to carry out their leader's will and to assist in waging the incessant warfare in which their principals are engaged High above all others Ahura Mazda the omniscient creator of the universe and of all good things is supported by six Amesha Spenta (or Amshaspands) the Immortal Holy Ones who form his court while occupying an auxiliary place the Yazatas (Venerable Ones) are his angels To the opposite in unrelenting malevolent bitter conflict Angra Mainyu the Enemy Spirit who ignorant and shortsighted created darkness in disease suffering and evil of every kind With him reside six Arch Fiends the antitheses of the Amesha Spentas who are his commanders and who direct the activities of untold hordes of diabolical malignant spirits seeking to overcome and enslave Ormazd and by every means in their power to create confusion in all his good works and to destroy them aiming mainly to his detriment and destruction Man always has part in the struggle aiding the one or opposing the other according to his moral attitude and

every deed is an act of warfare for the good or for the bad. This conflict between the power of good and evil continues without cessation through eons of time until eventually the world will undergo an ordeal by which it will be purified after which evil will be eliminated and Ahura Mazda and goodness will reign supreme.

Mythology

Many of the myths of Iran date from the period of Indo-Iranian unity whence compared with those of the Veda they show a marked similarity in theme and form varying only in particularities and details. They center about the theme of the struggle between the agencies of good and evil and for the most part tell of creation and of the valiant endeavors of kings and ancient heroes to secure for earth and for mankind light, rain, and other blessings of Nature against the opposing force of evil of dragons and of tyrants. These cosmic and terrestrial conflicts are often in the storm cloud amid raging elements on a mountain or in a cavern with thunderbolt, wind and fire as weapons for the confusion and destruction of the demons.

The creation of remedies

The myth of the creation of the vegetable kingdom later furnishing all medicinal plants is of special interest (*Bundahishn*, ix xviii cf *Vendidad*, xx 4 *Yasht*, 1 30).¹ Ameretat (Immortality) one of the Amesha Spenta who had vegetation under her guardianship pounded the dry plants very small and mixed them with water which Tishtrya the dog star who was a good genius in Iran made to rain upon the earth so that plants sprang up like hair on the head of man ten thousand and growing to overcome ten thousand and produced by evil spirit and the evil ten

¹ *SBE* v 30 31 5

thou and becoming an hundred thousand From the ame
 germ arose the Tree of All Seed which tood in th
 middle of the deep ea Vouruka ha and near thi tree
 wa the Gaokerena (Ox Horn) tree the miraculou
 All Healer from which came all healing plant Thi
 tree was neces ary for the renovation of the univer
 that immortality might follow and it wa that with
 which they restore the dead (*Bundahshn*, xxiv 27)
 The Evil Spirit Ahriman et a li ard in th e to injure
 the tree but Ormazd to keep the mon ter away created
 ten k r fi h which circling about it con tantly guard it
 from harm They are both fed piritually and will watch
 each other until the univer e i renovated The G o
 kerena tree i the White H oma a manife tation of the
 my tical haoma plant (*Bundahshn*, xxvii 4) and a part
 of the Ave ta now lost told of the production of entire
 specie of plant by Auharma d for the curing of the
 creatures from di ea e the uce e of the Gokereno
 plant which i the white Hom in curing as compared
 with other plant and the diligence of Airman in the
 medical treatment of the world (*Dinkart*, VIII xlv
 80) According to another myth (*Bundahshn*, x 1) the
 bull created by Ahura Ma da wa killed by Ahriman but
 it death gave birth to vegetable life on earth while from
 it grew twelve specie of medicinal herb

Disease and dualism

All di ease regarded a a diabolical entity and often
 n med after the particular demon c u ing it was up
 po ed to be governed by the qua i duali m which ruled
 the co mo and since it wa regarded as an ttack or a
 po es ion by spirits of evil, the power of good pirit
 must be invoked to ecure relief Sin and disea e were on

much the same plane sin was spiritual and disease a bodily malady being a breach of the moral or physical order resulting from pollution visible or invisible but substantial This pollution must be removed by some rite or act which would effect purification and supernatural powers were summoned by invocations hymns and conjurations often in conjunction with natural remedies administered with rites and ceremonies

'Countless' diseases

Ahura Mazda declares that Angra Mainyu created 99 999 (countless *Yasht*, xiii 59) diseases (*Vendidad*, xxii 2) and in the *Vendidad* he reveals to the human race through Zoroaster the means whereby man may free himself from their power Two Amesha Spentas, Haurvatat (Wholeness Health) and Ameretat (Immortality) were assigned as special guardians of man while Ahriman directed Taurvi and Zairika to oppose them the latter actively sowing seeds of suffering disease and death and the former provided with remedies to combat these evils both the supernatural power of Ahura Mazda of which they were the repository and the natural means which Ormazd revealed to Zoroaster by many hundred thousands and tens of thousands (*Bundahishn* xxviii 11 xxx 29, *Vendidad*, xx 4) ⁴

The cure

The cure is effected by the Amesha Spenta Asha Vahishta through the medium of the physician (*Dinkart*, VIII xxxvii 14) ⁵ and the Avesta names several divisions of the healing art 'One health by righteousness

⁴ *SBE* v, 107 128 Dhalla *Zoroastrian Theology*, pp 168 265 *id*, *Zoroastrian Civilization*, p 152

⁵ *SBE* xxxvii 116 also A J Carnoy "Magic (Iranian) in *ERE* viii, 294 295

one health by the law one health by the knife one health by plant one health by (holy) text of healing thing the most healing is he who healeth by the holy text (*Yasht* III 6 cf *Vendidad*, VII 44)

Healing texts

Many Gathic verses were used in effecting cure gaining force and efficiency by frequent repetition (cf *Vendidad*, IX 27 x 4 17 xx 12 *Yasht*, III 5 XVIII 8) occasionally the formulae were themselves personified and invoked as 'Mayest thou heal me O Holy Text right glorious' (*Vendidad*, XXII 2) and incantation also occur e.g. 'I conjure thee disease I conjure thee death

I conjure thee fever I conjure thee evil eye' (*Ib*, XX 7) Charm and amulet were also used to ward off disease or to avert the evil eye and fire is mentioned (*Dinkart*, III clvii 8)⁷ as a therapeutic agency Further more all remedies of water and animal and plant were in the keeping of the divine Ahurī (*Yasna*, li 2) and the rain banished disease and death beside revivifying vegetation (*Vendidad*, XXI 3) The water and the plant were healing (*Yasht*, VII 47 *Vendidad*, XX 4) beginning with the Gaokerena tree already mentioned and such plants were used together with mantras in effecting cure (*Dinkart*, III clvii 45) The Amesha Spenta and Ahura Mazda (*Yasht*, I 2 5 8 12) the moon (*Yasht*, VII 5 *Nyaish* III 7) the star Vanant (? Vega *Yasht*, XXI 1) and the constellation Haptoringa (Ursa Major *Sirozah*, I 13 II 13) also received the epithet healing the two

J J Modi Charm or Amulet from Dīfthī Ey in hi *AP*, I 11 pp 43 50, K v jī Ed lji K g King Firdun d f w f hi Amulet and Charm I *CMV*, I 00 pp 144 145

⁷ L C Crotli 'Trait' d 'd em d , in *L M o* , I 6 v 534 535

Ib, pp 546 547

latter a oppo ed to Angra Mainyu and his creature (*Yasht*, *xxi* 1 *viii* 12) while the Fravashis (guardian spirits) likewise had this term applied to them (*Yasna*, *lv* 3 *Yasht*, *xiii* 30 32 64)

Disease of animals

The di ea e of animal were governed by the ame principle s tho e of men and similar measures were employed for their cure (*Vendidad*, *vii* 43 *xiii* 35 *Din kart* *VIII* *xix* 39 *xxxvii* 29 *xxxviii* 54)

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

TH Ave ta a oci te the origin of the healing art with Thrīta (*Vendidad*, *xx* 2) and other divine being or heroes po e ed of marvellous skill who were benef c tor of the human race as phy ician but they brought cures to man only in a theoretic manner nd with the xc ption of Haoma nd Mithra they developed no cult

Ahurani	Ci ti	Thrīta
Airyaman	Drva p	Ti htry
Aredvi Sur An	Haom	Ver thraghna
hit	Mithra	Yima
A hi	Thraetaona (or Faridun)	

AHURANI

AHURANI (Daughter of Ahura) an Iranian water goddess (cf *Yasna*, *xxxiii* 3) to whom the ighty eighth chapter of the *Yasna* devoted 1 invoked (*Yasna* *lxviii* 2) for health and healing for prosperity and growth well a for other blessing of every kind According to

the *Great Bundahshn*,¹⁰ she presided especially over rain standing waters and the like

AIRYAMAN

AIRYAMAN, a deity dating from the Indo Iranian period celebrated in the Avesta as a benevolent being and a healer After the Holy Text had failed Ahura Ma da called upon him for cooperation in expelling disease and death saying I bless thee with the fair holy blessing the friendly holy blessing that maketh the empty full and the full to overflow that maketh the unsick sick and maketh the sick man sound whereupon he performed the rites of purification so effectively that he caused 99 999 diseases to cease (*Vendidad*, xxii 7 19) His special prayer (*Yasna*, liv 1) is the most healing of divine manthras (*Yasht*, iii 5) and in a passage of the *Great Bundahshn* translated by Darmesteter¹¹ it is he who give the world healing of all pains as it is aid [with] all the drugs that creature take to destroy pain if I Auhrmazd had not sent Irman with his power of cure pain would indeed remain (?)

Airyaman whose middle Persian (Turfan) equivalent means friend (the modern irman guest) finds an Indian counterpart in the obscure Aditya Aryaman (apparently also signifying friend comrade)¹² His original function is uncertain but he acted as groomsman in the marriage ceremony (*Rigveda* X lxxxv 36 43, *Yasna*, liv 1) and he has accordingly been interpreted as representing marriage¹ while others regard him as an incar

¹ Darmesteter, *L Zend Avesta*, i, 267, cf Dhalla *Theology*, pp 141 142

¹¹ Darmesteter, *op cit*, ii 319

¹² Hillebrandt *Vedische Mythologie*, iii 77 90

¹ Dhalla *Civilization*, p 81

nation of submissive piety¹⁴ or a god of rain and fertility who is essentially helpful to man whence his function of healer naturally developed among the Zoroastrian¹⁵

AREDVĪ SURA ANAHITA

AREDVĪ SURA ANAHITA (Lofty Mighty Spotless [Lady]) a divinity of the water especially of the mythical river Aredvi (*Visparad*, I 5 *Yasht*, I 21 *Vendidad*, VII 16)¹⁶ is the only deity except Mithra, who is mentioned beside Ahura Mazda in the Achaemenian inscription (Artaxerxes Mnemon *Susa* A 5 *Hamadan* 6) The fifth *Yasht* is devoted entirely to her laudation, and from it we learn that she dwells among the stars guarding all holy creation To her countless sacrifices are offered among her suppliant being not only earthly heroes including Yima Thraetaona and Zoroaster but even divine beings like Haoma and Ahura Mazda himself The prayer of the righteous he grants but those of the ungodly such as Ahī Dāhaka he rejects She rides in a chariot drawn by four white steeds created by Ahura Mazda and they are respectively wind rain cloud and lightning while the description of her that some scholars¹⁷ hold that she was represented in glyptic form, particularly at Berozostellu (*apud* Clemens Alexandrinus *Protreptica*, V lxxv 3) that Artaxerxes Mnemon introduced statues of her among the Persians

¹⁴ Driest *op cit*, I, 350

¹⁵ A. J. Crook 'The Iranian God of Healing' in *JAOS*, 1918 xxxviii 295

¹⁶ Girgier, *Ostira ische Kertim Alerti*, pp 45-50, the identification of the river with the Oxus but it is, in all probability wholly mythical

¹⁷ Driest *op cit*, II 364-3 5, A. V. W. Jackson 'The Idol (Person)', in *ERE* VII 153 he it takes to accept this interpretation

The Ave ta tate (*Yasna*, lxv 2 *Yasht* v 2 5 87 *Vendidad*, vii 16) that he purifies the semen virile and the womb give easy delivery and create milk in the breast be the being in general healing (*Yasna*, lxv 1) and entreated for health of the body (*Yasht*, v 53)

The cult of Anahita who may be Semitic or Elamite in origin¹ spread widely in the ancient world notably in Armenia¹ Pontus Cappadocia and Lydia and he was identified with the Great Mother of the Achaean people while in Greece she was commonly equated with Artemis and occasionally with Aphrodite¹

ASHI

ASHI (Rewards Deity) the genius of sanctity representing the life of piety and its concomitant reward and tending physically for plenty morally for righteousness and eschatologically for the heavenly reward of earthly sanctity is celebrated in the eventeenth *Yasht* The daughter of Ahura Mazda and Spenta Armaiti and the sister of Daen (Religion) and of the Amesha Spenta as well as of Sraosha Rahehu and Mithra she was invoked by Haoma Yima Thraetaona Zoroaster Vahishta and others She brings riches abundance and prosperity she increases offspring and dominates celibacy and impurity and a healing deity she possesses all remedies of waters and kine and plants (*Yasna*, lvi 2, cf lx 4 *Visparad*, ix 12 *Yasht*, xiii 32)

¹ Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp 66, 238 23 *idem*, *The Treasury of the Magi*, p 88

¹ H Gelzer "Zur römischen Gottlehre", in *BKSGW*, 18 xlv 111 117

F Cumont 'Anahit', in *ERE* i 414 415 also Grupp *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, p 1594

¹ Grupp *op cit*, pp 1094 1265 1552

Dh 11, *Theology*, pp 43, 122

xvii 1) Her name appear under the form Ardokhro on coin of the Indo Scythian King Kam hka and Hu vi hk (second century AD) where he is represented as bearing a cornucopia

CISTI

CISTI ([Religious] Wisdom) a minor divine being is once (*Visparad*, ix 1) mentioned as having healing powers but no details are given

DRVASPA

DRVASPA (Possessor of Sound Horse) the genius of the animal world and especially of horses is the heroine of the ninth *Yasht*, invoked together with Genah Tahan (Shaper of the Ox) and Genah Urvan (Soul of the Ox) and the recipient of sacrifice from Haoma and many heroes. Yima made offering to her that might avert from men death and the infirmities of age (*Yasht*, ix 10) and it is she who keeps cattle and children sound being healing in her activities (*Yasht*, ix 12). In Mithraism she was identified with Silvanus

HAOMA

HAOMA, the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Soma was an Iranian deity from primeval times appearing in terrestrial form as the yellow haoma used in the Indo Iranian sacrifice though later there was also a mythical White Homa identified with the Gaokerena or Gokart tree (*Bundahishn*, xxvii 4 cf ix 6 xviii 16 xxiv 27) ¹ Ac

M A Stein *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo Scythian Coins*, 1887 p 165

Dhalla *op cit*, p 101

Ib, p 125

Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p 112

¹ *SBE* vii, 31 65 66 91 100

According to the Avesta (*Yasna*, x 23-90) the juice of this plant was first extracted by Mithra from a health giving invigorating herb brought from lofty Haraiti (Mount Elbur) by birds (*Yasna*, x 10-11) and in its sacred character it was the ceremonial drink which gave strength and life to man prepared by the priest with elaborate prescribed ritual prayer and ceremony. The haoma was first offered to Ahura Mazda by Vivanghvant. Its medical properties were associated with the joy of the Amesha Spenta Vohu Manah (*Yasna*, ix 4 x 12) and it was invoked for health and all bodily blessing (*Yasna*, ix 17-19 x 9).

The exhilarating juice of the haoma plant gave sense of power and ability (*Yasna*, x 13) and though it seemed at one time to have been banned by the *Gathas* as an intoxicating orgie (cf *Yasna*, xxxii 14 xlviii 10) it later reappeared but without objectionable features.

MITHRA

MITHRA, the Mitra of the Vedas was an Iranian deity of great antiquity and according to the Avesta Ahura Mazda created him a worthy of honor a worthy of praise myself Ahura Mazda (*Yasht*, x 1) whence he was the most important Yata. Though regarded by the majority of scholars as primarily a solar god he seems in reality to have been originally the apotheosis of the contract the pledge whence he was later identified with the all being un^o. Among the Iranians accordingly he

Dr. St. T. R. O. P. C. T., 11 xvii 1 x 10 H. U. G. E. Y. S. O. th
P. R. S. S., 3d d. pp 39-403 J. J. Modi 'H. O. 1 E. R. E. V., 507-510
Moulton Zor. tri. v., pp 71-73 357-358-37

^o A. Meillet L. D. U. 1 do. ir. ni. n. Mitr. in J. A., X 1907 x 143
159 For the Vedic Mitra. M. Edon II 'V. d. Mythology in G. I. P. A.
18-7 pp 2-30 and refer to the given 10 Hillbrandt op
cit., II, 53-5 For survey of the Iranian Mithra Dhalla, op cit.,
pp 103-111 23-240

was the divinity of righteousness and of the plighted word and the protector of justice the defender of the worshipper of truth and righteousness in their struggle against Angra Mainyu and the god of battle who gave victory over the foe of Iran He ¹ invoked *inter alia*, for healing and for physical soundness (*Yasht*, x 5 94)

and ¹ entreated to be present at our sacrifices be present to them hallowed together them for atonement lay them down in the House of Prayer (*Yasht*, x 32)

Little ¹ known of the ritual of the Iranian worship of Mithra but his cult in the Occident was identified with occultism magic astrology and mystic ceremonies much of which ¹ believed to have been injected under the influence of the Chaldean and during it spread through Babylonia and Asia Minor Mithra was essentially a moral mediator struggling against the power of evil to redeem mankind this eternal contest being symbolized by the laying of the bull for regeneration while other ceremonies included communion with bread and wine and ointment of honey for consecration all of which were mystic remedies of Mithra for the healing of the body and for the sanctification of the soul ¹

The cult of Mithra popular and powerful in Iran spread rapidly to Asia Minor to Greece and finally over the Roman Empire carrying with it the occultism of the Chaldean and the mysterious science of the Orient so that Roman saw Mithra's astrologers passing whole nights on the tops of their tower and his magician practiced their mystic on the slope of the Aventine and on the bank of the Tiber The cult encountered bitter hatred and the violent opposition of all Christian and this religious struggle continued in the more remote

¹ Cuont *op cit*, pp 157 160 20

Bruon *L M'd c ne t s r ig on*, p 137

quarter of Europe perhaps as late as the fifth century of our era

THRAETAONA (OR FARIDUN)

THRAETAONA, son of Athwya and the Faridun of Persian and Arabic authors is apparently the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Trita who is mentioned only in single passages of the Rigveda (I clviii 5). His *fravashi* is invoked against itch fever and two other (unknown) diseases (*Yasht*, xiii 131) and a Pa and charm⁴ contain the word May NN by virtue of the strength and power of the virtue of Fredun the son of Athwya by virtue of the strength of the northern tribe be healthy in body. According to the Pahlavi writing Fretun (Thraetaona) was full of healing (*Datistan i Dink*, xxxviii 35) but subsequently he became fused with his doublet Thrithra in the national hero Faridun who in mighty struggle overcame his father's murderer and his own inveterate foe tyrant Ahriman. Ahriman had three jaws three heads and six eyes while on his shoulder grew two snakes from his back imprinted by the arch fiend. After conquering the demon the hero fettered him with chains in a cavern on Mount Damavand for a thousand years and took possession of his palace reigning peacefully for five centuries (*Yasna*, ix 7-8 *Yasht*, v 33-35 ix, 13-14 etc *Bundahishn*, xxix 9 xxxiv 6). Thraetaona has been interpreted as a wind deity.⁷

Cf Monodon and Keith *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, i 331

Modi in *AP*, p 48 two other charms of his are characterized and given by Kanga, in *CMV*, pp 144-145

SBE xviii 90

SBE v 119, 150

⁷ Carnoy in *JAOS*, 1918 xxxviii 297-29

THRITA

THRITA (? Third) the third to train the haoma juice his reward being parentage of two heroic sons (*Yasna*, ix 9 10) was the first who held death to death receiving from Ahura Mazda for this purpose medicine and the boon of Khathra Vairy³, apparently (since this Amesha Spenta presided over metal) herb and the surgeon knife (*Vendidad*, xx 1 3) He is the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Trita Aptya but in the Avesta Aptya appears as a deity being Athvya (*Yasna* ix 6 7) and Thritha himself is superadded at an early date by the cognate figure Thraetaona. He has been explained originally water god

TISHTRYA

TISHTRYA (Siri) the star genius who presides over rain and the center of devotion in the ninth *Yasht*, white shining and exalted grant fertility to the field and happy abode to man and is the lord of all stars worthy of sacrifice invocation propitiation and glorification as Ahura Mazda himself. When due offerings are made to him he sends rain and other blessings and he is especially renowned for his victory over the drought demon Apaosha. He is described as healing a wronging away by his water all abomination from all creatures and thus healing them but as removing every remedy from the presence of the wicked (*Yasht*, viii 2 43 60).

VERETHRAGHNA

VERETHRAGHNA, the genius of victory is the Iranian counterpart of the Vedic Vrtrahan (Slayer of Vrtra)

³ S. *supra*, p. 10 and cf. Spiegel, *Die iranische Periode*, pp. 257 271. C. Bartholomae, "Ariana in *IF*", 1892, pp. 180 182.
Carnoy loc. cit.

a frequent epithet of Indra though used also of Agni and Soma.⁴⁰ According to the fourteenth *Yasht*, which is devoted wholly to his laudation he grants victory over the foe and if proper sacrifice is offered him he guards the Iranian lands against every enemy. When he revealed himself to Zoroaster he appeared successively as the wind a bull a white horse a rutting camel a boar a youth a raven a ram a goat and a warrior and a feather from his bird the raven averts the enchantment of enemies giving it power and strength and victory (*Yasht*, xiv 34-40).

He brings healing and power and is the mightiest in healing. In answer to Zoroaster's prayer he gave him virility strength of arm bodily endurance and keenness of vision but on the other hand he can cause illness and death taking away his agencies of healing as he does when the evil and the unchaste dwell in the land (*Yasht*, xiv 2-3 29-47-52).

Under the name of Vahagn Verethraghna was worshipped as one of the three chief deities of Armenia produced by the travail of Earth and triumphing over dragon.⁴¹ He appears bearing sword and spear and with a bird (probably a raven) perched on his helmet on a coin of the Indo-Scythian King Kamaoka (second century A.D.) where he is called Orlagno⁴² and in an inscription of Antiochus I of Kommagene (first century B.C.) he is identified under the name Artagnes with Herakles and Ares.⁴³

⁴⁰ Spiegel *op cit*, pp 194-197, Oldenberg *Die Religion des Veda*, p 134. Macdonell, *GIPA*, 1897 pp 60, 66 109 114, 158. Cf., Dhalla *op cit*, pp 112-114. Chroico *Iranian Mythology*, pp 271-273.

⁴¹ Ghalberg *op cit*, pp 104-109.

⁴² Stein, *op cit*, p 159.

⁴³ Dittmann *Orbis Graeciae scripturae selectae*, Leipzig 1903 I 05 no 383.

YIMA

YIMA an ancient Indo Iranian hero the Yama (Twin) of the Veda and the Jamshid (Avesta Yima Kh hæta Brilliant Yima) of the Persian epic appear in the Avesta as the son of Vivahvant (*Yasna*, ix, 4) and the hero of a myth of the early expansion of the world (*Vendidad*, 11) ⁴⁴ In his golden age he reigned for centuries over a distant realm where food and drink never ceased where man and beast never died where water and plants never dried up and where there was neither age nor death (*Yasht*, xix 32 33 cf *Yasna*, ix 5) Nevertheless he committed sin either by giving man forbidden food (*Yasna*, xxxii 8) or by yielding to falsehood (*Yasht*, xix 34 ff) and in consequence he lost both his kingly glory and his realm and was slain by the dragon Ahi Dahaka with whose life his own seems to run parallel and who extended his malignant sway until he in turn was overpowered by the hero Thraetaona (Faridun) According to Persian tradition, Jamshid knew

Next leechcraft and the healing of the sick,
The means of health the cure of maladies ⁴⁵

Yima is interpreted by some scholars as the setting sun an explanation which has also been advanced for the Vedic Yama though he seems rather to have been originally the first man and thus the chief of the souls of the departed ⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Cf Carnoy *op cit*, pp 304 319

⁴⁵ First in *Shah Namah*, tr A G and E Winer i 133 Mirkhond *The History of the Early Kings of Persia*, p 121

⁴⁶ Carnoy *op cit*, pp 312 317

⁴⁷ Macdonell, in *GIPA*, 1897 pp 171 174

CHAPTER SIX
GRECIAN GODS



CHAPTER SIX

THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT GREECE

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

SCATTERED reference in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* make it clear that in the early period the Greek believed that the deities sent disease and death upon mankind in anger and revenge for impiety, vow unperformed, sacrifices unoffered and unjust deed or because of the wickedness of the human heart. To free themselves from their evil plight men were advised to sacrifice to pray to make atonement and to propitiate the god who in this relation had power to avert pestilence and cure disease. It is by no means possible to avoid disease sent from Zeus yet do thou at least pray to thy father even unto King Poseidon (*Odys*, ix 411-412). The healing art of the early Greeks was therefore intimately connected with their religion and mythology.

The origin of the gods

The Greek world of spiritual beings was evolved from the prehistoric blending of the religious faith and practices of immigrant races coming from the north chiefly of the Achaean, Minyan and Dorian migrations with those of the peoples of ancient Mediterranean stock of which the Achaean civilization were composed. The imagination of the people interpreted the omnipotence of the pantheon as divinities and daemons. These conceptions were personified and the fancies of the poet, the speculations of the philosophers and the skill of the artists

and guided by an æsthetic sense combined to transform the primitive deities into a higher order of being superhuman of superior strength similar in appearance to man yet idealized and glorified, and to invest them with a sovereign grace and a serene majesty. The gods had arisen from many independent sources with the freedom and indefiniteness of traditional tales. Some had evolved from the myth which had grown up about the good daimon or ancestor of a family or tribe who had acquired a superhuman status certain function and a recognized worship. The Pelasgians of Arkadia and Boiotia declared that their deities were born and Greek myths recount the circumstance surrounding the birth and sometime the death of many of their gods and goddesses. Herodotus (*Opera et Dies*, 107) says: "And ponder it well in thy mind that from the same origin sprang gods and mortal men." Pindar (*Nemea*, vi 17) expressed the same view:

Men and the Gods above one race compose
 Both from the general parent Earth
 Derive their old mysterious birth
 But power unlike their differing nature how
 Man breathes his moment and is nought
 While like their brethren heaven eternal be
 Gods live forever their illumined face
 Their illustrious form, their inspiring thought,
 Proclaim him kindred of the Æthe

The nature of the gods

As disclosed in the epics Greek religion had already developed far beyond the elementary stage of evolution to the form of an advanced anthropomorphic polytheism. The gods were concrete clearly defined personalities, of superhuman substance living on nectar and immortal. They were invulnerable yet able to appear in various di-

gives they passionately exercised human emotion and were closely correlated in a divine family or state having one supreme ruler. They were of two classes: those of a celestial or uranic nature who lived on the mythic height of Olympus and whose personalities were celebrated in verse and those of chthonic character and function who belonged to the earth and Underworld whose awe-inspiring personalities were not always pleasing to contemplate and who were referred to vaguely in literature usually under veiled expression.

The gods and man

The Greek deities prompted no spiritual aspiration and were not looked upon as beings of moral excellence or wisdom. They were unmoral yet ethical in preserving the respect and sanctity of the oath witnessed before the god of either the upper or lower world. They were so nearly related to human kind that they sustained injuries and suffered from distress similar to those of men. They held friendly communion with man. They were his invisible companion and took an active part in the intimate affairs of his daily life: a helper, adviser, and friend; or a enemy they opposed him and brought misfortune upon him. Things without visible cause were ascribed to the supernatural powers of the gods and to spiritual beings of lesser rank. Man looked to the divinity for his welfare and enjoyment in this life and depended upon their supernatural divine powers for help and protection in times of need. The residence and rank of deities were so accessible that some of the heroes ascended and became members of the divine family.

The pantheon

Each settlement, village, tribe, community, and state had its own independent and favored tutelary deity and

form of worship. The ritual and ceremonies of the several cults were conducted side by side and the gods were frequently blended or one gained supremacy. A Hera in Argolis, Athena in Athens and Poseidon in Corinth. The family or tribal conceptions of deity developed the larger aspect of the father and protector of the state and of mankind. Some were regarded by local tradition as the divine ancestor of the community: a Hermes in Arkadia and Apollo in Delos. The pantheon was also invaded frequently by deities of foreign tribes who brought to the land of their adoption their peculiar god and form of worship and established their cult. Hellenic was a free soil. Foreign deities were permitted a foothold and gained favor, influence and prominence. Zeus supposed to have been of Aryan origin established himself at Dodona and finally became ruler over all. Dionysos and Orpheus were from Thrace, others were from Pelasgia and Phrygia (Herodotus II, 53) and in the late period, with loss of national independence, deities were introduced from Egypt, Syria and Persia while their cult definitely affected the character of the later Greek religion. Gods of one community were adopted by others and the worship of many became general but the rituals were adapted to local ideas and usage. The deities were plastic and developed consistently with the unfolding of the religious conceptions of the people. They had varied functions and readily acquired new phases and aspects as of different personalities. Such variants tended to develop into separate and distinct deities, as Eileithyia, who is supposed to have emanated from Hera and to have represented her obstetric function, but others never evolved further than to receive an adjectival name. The religions of Greece were a composite of many cults existing side by side yet differing in conception and in ritual.

The divine functions

The gods had general supernatural power and in addition many acquired special function which frequently overlapped or were duplicated by other no deity having a monopoly Apollo was famous for prophecy but his Delphic oracle the center of Greek inspiration had many rivals, as those of Dionysos at Amphikleia Hades at Nyssa and Trophonios at Lebadeia Herakles as well as many other god and heroes beside Asklepios practiced healing Deities had various aspects and attributes according to place and circumstance and received qualifying appellatives usually surname Athena as guardian of the city of Athens was Athena Polias as protector of its health she was Athena Hygieia and as the guardian of eyesight she was Athena Ophthalmitis at Sparta Pater remarks¹ on the indefinite characteristic of Greek mythology a theology with no central authority no link on historic time liable from the first to an unobscurable transformation There were religious usages before there were distinct religious conception and the antecedent religious usage helped and determined at many points the ultimate religious conception as the details of the myth interpret or explain in the religious custom There were priests but no theological priesthood no guiding authority and each cult or center of worship was a law to itself There were brotherhoods as the *seleiai* (or *hellei*) at Dodona and the later Orphic *thiasoi*, but they never gained social political or religious influence beyond their own cults Therefore transformations were common and the modes of worship were pliantly adaptable to changing conditions in social and political life

¹ *Greek Studies*, p. 101

Ib., p. 120

New conceptions

For centuries the old religion had sufficed. The god had given to the individual the good thing of this life: health, happiness, and longevity; and to the state protection and prosperity. With the development of new conceptions came a great diversity and broadening of religious thought and purpose. The Orphic *thiasos* preached their doctrine; the cult of Dionysos found a purpose beyond the celebration of the fruit of the vine; the Mysteries and worship of Demeter and Kore were developed at Eleusis; and other religious centers were established. The Greek mind was awakened to the need and a perception of the soul to its divine nature, to the hope of closer communion with the saving deity, and even of salvation with a happier lot after death than that of others who descended to the prison-house of Hades. Themistocles in the latter period interpreted the initiation into these great mysteries as in the nature of a rehearsal of the experience the soul was supposed to undergo at the time of death. Referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries, which were exceedingly popular with the Athenians, Sophocles in one fragment (719) exclaims: 'O thrice blessed those mortals who having beheld the mysteries descend into Hades to them alone it is given to live for the rest all evil is there.' The nature of deity of cult and practices became subjects of infinite speculation by philosophers, and theories naturalistic and agnostic were constantly formulated. Whatever the trend, political events intervened, and the old gods to whom people and states had appealed in their extremity gave moral judgment for Hellas, granting victory over their enemies and preserving the country from foreign

For all *The Cults of the Greek States*, III, 17 f.

⁴ Cf. Homer *Hymn to Demeter*, 480.

domination The land was purified of the polluting presence of the Persian barbarians by fire brought from Delphoi and the Greek raised an altar to Zeus the god of the free a fair monument of freedom for Hella (Pausanias IX 11 5) The simpler faith of the tried and beloved deities revived and the populace celebrated and honored them with great national festivals and decorous ritual while the highest æsthetic sense interpreted their gods before the eyes of the multitude in terms of majesty and ideal beauty

Absence of dogma and moral restraint in religion

The multiplicity of gods of cult and of cultic practice resulted in a complexity of religious ideas that defied close analysis The philosophers were perplexed and Plato characterized one who undertook to unravel the tangled web of Greek polytheism as a laborious and not very fortunate man (*Phaedrus*, 229 D) Religion was an affair of ritual not belief There was never in Greece any systematic theological belief or doctrine There were no religious opinions merely traditional usage that everyone was expected to observe and sacrifice was the recognized expression of piety from early times There was no orthodoxy or heterodoxy in the ordinary acceptance of the deities although it was not permitted to deny or neglect the gods There was little or no moral restraint on the conscience and the religion has been subjected to the monstrous reproach of a theology altogether without moral distinctions and a religion altogether without reverence Family life and the worship of its good daimon may have engendered a moral sense

A fragment attributed to Terpander expresses the majesty of the god (Zeus) 'the primal of all things the Lord of the world' (Bergk *Poetae yric Græci*, III, fragment 1)

Bleeker *Horæ Hellemicæ*, p. 78

and the sanctity of the oath enforced by Apollo and other gods ¹ believed to have influenced both public and private morality. In the fourth century B.C. came a tendency to eliminate the immoral stories of the deities and to create an ethical sentiment. Epicharmo expressed the idea of purity which was the basis of the cathartic ritual.

If thou art pure in mind thou art pure in thy whole body (Clemens Alexandrinus *Stromata*, p. 844). From whatever source it came, there appears from the age of Perikles onward a gradually deepening sense of the influence of religion on morality. Although religion exercised a little restraint upon the individual the impiety of defaming or denying the divinities was punished. There was a certain obligation of deference and sacrifice to the deity for bounty received and loyalty was due to the family, the tribal or the state god which called for the ritual form, but beyond that each one was free and independent to worship when and whom he pleased.

Shrines and religiosity

The primitive custom of recognizing a natural cave, a tree trunk, a post or a mound of stone as a holy pillar, the residence of a god, and erecting there an altar for worship, and the later way of dedicating the numerous temple and the splendid sanctuarial monument and festival all testify to the religiosity of the people, their everyday dependence on their god, and their constancy in observing the form of worship. Their attitude toward the deity was not timorous but intimate and friendly, a notion of quasi-equality with the supernatural world. Their religion and worship of the celestial divinities was joyous and bright, not solemn. Herakleitos may have reflected this close sympathetic relation in his remark that men are mortal gods and gods are immortal men.

Chthonic deities

There was however a phase of their religion which was connected with the dark and hidden power of the earth and Underworld and which was not genial or cheerful. These chthonian powers and their gloomy worship were referred to briefly by Homer and Hesiod. The poet dramatist and philosopher make frequent allusion to them but treat the subject vaguely. Plutarch remarked (*de Defectu Oraculorum*, xiv) that it was from the mysteries that they had gained their better knowledge of the daimonic element of life.⁷ Something is known of the ritual of these mysteries of which no tongue may speak but if anything was taught by them very little is known of it. It is from later records and excavation that philological and archaeological studies have disclosed the primitive features, the great antiquity and many details of the chthonian worship. These cults which then included that of the dead were not prominent in the early period but in the later days of Greek religion they became a distinctive feature. Many of the primitive rites of the cult based on old superstition endured and were observed side by side with the more advanced conception of later religious thought.

Chthonic character

The divinity of the earth and Underworld were numerous and varied. Some were beneficent and had functions that were essential to life and the happiness of mankind but all were potential powers for evil and many were fearsome and awe-inspiring. They ranged from

⁷ Cf. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 37 ff.

Cf. P. Gardner, *Mythology* (Greek Phrygian text) in *ERE* 77-82.

L. R. Farnell, 'Greek Religion' in *ERE* vi. 398-399.

Hade the great death god and his consort the dread Persephone rulers of the Underworld realm (Hesiod *Theogonia*, 765) to daemons demigod heroes and the vast horde of the spirit of the dead. The religion of the chthonioi has been called the religion of fear as contrasted with the religion of duty of the uranic deities.¹ The power of the nether world avenged the broken oath punished sinners after death and were able to bring ill misfortunes and death upon those who incurred their enmity. Although conscious of the dread potency that were the people of Argolis of Pome the evil spirit which ravaged their homes (Pausanias I xliii 7) the Greeks do not appear to have been oppressed in their daily lives by the terror of the daemoniac Underworld nor were they subject to morbid fear and anxiety concerning their destiny and the afterlife. The myth of early Greece were not overburdened with goblin and pecters nor do the relics of the early cult of the dead suggest any spirit of terrorism. The temperament of the people had not been tainted with the morbidity of their neighbors of Mesopotamia. The powers of darkness had to be reckoned with and the chthonic rituals of prayer and sacrifice were faithfully performed to appease the wrath or to placate and to gain the good will and favor of the dread power that evil might be averted present misfortune removed and purification obtained from pollution and guilt. The gloomy ceremonial over the people resumed their ordinary cheerful relation to the life about them. The rites were of the nature of riddance or avercion addressed to an order of beings entirely alien as contrasted with those of tendance or service addressed to Olympian.¹¹

¹⁰ F. H. Grinnon, "The Gods of the Underworld in Ancient Macedonia," in *PCC* v, 35-3.

¹¹ H. Grinnon, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Chthonic functions

Certain of the deities of the Underworld had benign function. They dispensed the hidden wealth of Mother Earth, advised mankind by prophecy and dream, and aided in misfortune and suffering. For Homer and Hesiod, Demeter was a goddess of blessing, not of terror. She was the beloved divinity of fertility, of vegetation, of the happy revival of nature in springtime. Later, the Mysteries of Eleusis promised her initiate greater contentment in the present life and a happier lot than that of others after death. Her power was, however, feared. The Black Demeter of pre-Homeric times, the gruesome threatening figure of the horse-headed goddess with snake lock in the dark cave at Phigaleia, was not forgotten (Pausanias VIII xli 4). Dionysos was the god of industry of vine culture and of wine, and his cult fostered gaiety and wild revelry, but he also offered worshippers the hope of a future life. Asklepios and other heroes administered by healing to sufferers. There was, therefore, much that was conducive to cheerfulness and to be thankful for in the chthonic cult, and these deities were honored, and their favorable aspects were dwelt upon in the hope of propitiating them and minimizing their disposition to work evil. They were never addressed directly and were seldom referred to by their own dread names. Hesiod speaks of Hades as a Zeus of the Earth, implying beneficence. Hades was also called Plouton, the Rich One, and Persephone (the maiden whom none may name) was termed Kore, the Maiden. The altar to the chthonic deities at Myonia in Lokris was dedicated to the Gracious God (Pausanias X xxxviii 8). Most of the chthonic deities were named, and many were described by adjective, a Kindly Goddess, Revered One, or Easy to be entreated. The same idea was carried out in

rt Farnell remark ¹ that the Greek would not brook the full revelation of the dark feature of the chthonioi and that ideal Greek art expressed in palpable form of benign beauty the half palpable presence of the lower world banished the uncouth and the terrible in religious imagination and helped to purge and tranquilize the Greek mind by investing chthonic power with benevolence and grace On coin Persephone is represented a beautiful hopeful maiden and the horse-headed Demeter transformed into graceful human form with no intimation of the original except the horse hoof as a pendant to her necklace ¹

The daemons

According to Greek belief the shade of the departed descended into the earth to the prison-house of Hades. The spirit of those who died before their time and of the uncremated dead however remained outside the portal and had power to return to the upper world and disturb the living. The ghost of Patroklos appeared to Achilles in a dream and begged that his funeral rite be performed that it might pass the gate of Hades (*Il*, xxiii 70). The shades of the dead became earth spirits, daemons, heroes and possibly wandering ghosts ¹⁴. Daemon (or demon) was a term of early Greece for the invisible spirit of supernatural power a primitive conception of broad meaning that did not carry with it any

or intimation. Herodotus (*Op et Dies*, 122 159 172 251) regarded daemons as ranking between gods and men of a higher grade of dignity but otherwise indistinguishable from heroes who were a god-like race of men of the Golden Age watchers set apart from mortals. The

¹ In *ERE* vi 412

¹ *Ib*, p 404

¹⁴ A. C. Pearson, *Deities and Spirits (Greeks)* *ERE* iv 590 594

Greeks held them to be kindly guardian spirits standing by to initiate men in the mysteries of life and to guide them after death (Plato *Phædo*, 130) Plato said they were interpreter and messenger between gods and men and other philosophers looked upon them as having power for both good and evil Aristophanes says (*Equites*, 85) that the Athenians made libations of wine to the good daimon or Genius after dinner In Boiotia they sacrificed to the good daimon when testing new must Daimons sent dreams which were signs of disease and of good health The ritual prescription marks an early antipathy between the hero and the Olympian but this was compromised by an appearance of decent friendliness¹ In the classical age it was believed that the good accented that the shade of the dead might become heroes that heroes became daimon and demigod and that a few rose to the rank of gods with a defined personality

The worship of heroes

From the earliest time the Greeks had paid respect to ancestors of both family and tribe They were regarded by the writer of Attika as the good daimon of the household and were sometimes represented by a serpent¹ Libations were made to them before family meals and such honor led to a close family tie or clan feeling The memory of men who had distinguished themselves was revered by their family their tribe city or state Through the mists of early Greek tradition certain personalities stand forth as humanitarians and as having had unusual gifts of wisdom and foresight favorites and sons of the god These were the heroes who had been inspired with the art of civilization for the benefit of mankind and possessing the mantic gift

¹ Harrison *op cit*, p 338

¹ Farnell *Cults*, III 10

were renowned a seer and prophet Their mantic gift were supposed to be hereditary and to pass to their descendant who frequently retained the name of their ancestor as the collective by which the gifted family or race was known Such benefactors of the people were glorified after death and honored with cultic worship and a few were deified They were generally worshipped as heroes and their graves were the center of their cult If they gained fame and importance shrines were built and they were accorded public honor and possibly festivals Such hero cults were pre Homeric and appear to have been a survival of primitive custom prior to the growth of the cult of the greater god They became prominent in post Homeric days and were well established throughout Greece about the seventh century B.C. A chthonian earth spirit the hero acquired their attributes and emblems the oracle and the serpent The snake an emblem common to all chthonic character represented the incarnate form of the hero or god in which he was frequently worshipped and it was thus used in statues bas relief and other works of art Vergil (*Æneid*, v 84) recognized this relation when he told of the enormous serpent which appeared to Aeneas as he performed the sacred rite at the tomb of his father on the anniversary of his death Heroes were helpers in time of need and were protectors in battle while as the god had favored them with skill beyond mortal man many were healers of the sick They avenged slight it was considered dangerous to meet them in the darkness or speak of them in other than pleasing terms Heychio (*s v krenttonas*) explain that heroes seem to be devoid of personality on this account that those who pass hero shrines keep silence lest heroes should do them harm ¹⁷

¹⁷ Hermonopoulus, p 39

Ceremonials

The Greek mode of worship and the sacred formulae used at the temple and festival were a simple decorous wholesome, and refined Licentious emblem and rite are rarely mentioned and were practically confined to the vegetation cults The elements of the ritual appear to have differed materially with the various worship and with time and place¹ They have however been grouped as honorific to honor the god as benefactors of the individual the city and state as apotropaic to acknowledge their service as averter of evil misfortune sickness and death as hylastic to atone for offence and to propitiate and as cathartic to cast forth contamination and to purify The gods were given the descriptive title *lysioi*, *apotropaioi*, *alexikakoi*, and *aleximoroi*,

averters of and deliverers from evil and death and these epithets were placed above the door of dwelling for their magic influence The honorific and apotropaic ceremonies consisted of psalms or hymns of praise prayer libation and thanksgiving with ritual sacrifice of animal and offering of first fruit cereal honey wine incense *et cetera* The hylastic ceremonies were similar except that they partook of an expiatory character to appease the anger of the god and by placating them to obtain a riddance of all evil spirits and their work misfortune sickness or threatened death Perfect hecatomb were offered Apollo to appease his wrath and rid the Greek camp of the scourge (*Il*, i 315) Odysseus was

instructed to sacrifice black animal within trench in which honey wine and water had been poured and thus to treat the illustrious nations of the dead (*Odys*, x 520) Fire was used to dissipate evil spirit Whatever the practice of human sacrifice in the dark and savage

¹ A. W. Marr 'Worship (Greek)' in *ERE* xii 782-788

age it was rare in Greek societies of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.¹ Cathartic rites were intended to purge from stain from the *masma* of blood guilt and from spiritual pollution through contact with the impure and guilty and consisted of the usual prayer and sacrifice and particularly of lustration by water or blood for ceremonial purification. Lustral water from a spring was used for bathing or it was sprinkled over the person. Barley meal was scattered with the hand on the clean ing flume and heifer were slain. Sometime the blood of a chthonic animal was used for lustration. The Homeric Greeks purified themselves with water and cast the ablution into the sea (*Il*, i 313). Apollo for whom the dictatorship was claimed over cleansing for blood guilt during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (Aichylos *Eumenides*, 620) had himself been sent to Crete to be purified of the blood of Python (Pausania II xxx 3) and Achilles was bidden to go to Lesbos to be cleansed by Apollo and Artemis from the taint of murder. Odysseus purified his household from the pollution of murdered Ulysses by the burning of sulphur (*Odys*, xxii 481). In the ritual of sacrifice to the uranic deities the head of the victim was held up; in the chthonic offering the head of the animal (sheep, a ram or a lamb black by preference) was held down and the blood flowed into a hole in the ground (*bothros*) or altar. In honorific and apotropaic sacrifice to the uranic deities the flesh was eaten but in oblation to the chthonic divinities the flesh was wholly burned; the remains with other offerings were thrown into a hole in the altar and no part was eaten. During the early days at least, the chthonic rites were held at night and frequently they were continued until the approach of dawn.

¹ Cf. A. C. Pearson 'Hellenic Sacrifice' (Greek) in *ERE* vi 847-49.

² Form II in *ERE* vi 406.

tho e de cribed by Pau ania (X xxxviii 8) Such cultic ceremonies once e tablished were generally con served little affected by modification in the conception of the god to whom they were addre ed ¹

Oracles and divine communications

The gods held frequent intercour e with men and by many sign more particularly by oracles dream dream oracle and visions revealed the divine will both a to the pre ent and the future Telling to many a mortal wight a he lay asleep in darkne what ha been nd yet hall be (Euripide *Iphigenia in Taurica*, 1261 ff) Such communications came from gods and heroe lik and were made manifest through diviner and e r through the medium of prie t and prieste e or directly to the individuals by dreams These me age nd their interpretation were eagerly ough by all cla se nd seer augurs and sooth ayer were held in high e teem o that at one time large numbers of all degree practiced their art in Athen nd throughout Greece Only tho in pired of old by Apollo uttered oracle and the kill of sooth yer lay in the interpr tation of dre m nd omen (P u anu . I xxxiv 4)

During the Trojan War Melampou through hi d cendants had gained fame for mantic gift (*Odys*, xv 224) At the inception of the War Kalchas the best of augur who knew the pre ent past and future w be ough to interpret the cause of the anger of Apollo and to indicate how it might be appea ed thu averting fur ther de truction by pe tience in the camp (*Il*, i 70)

¹ For furth r nd mor det il d inform tion concerning th chtho i d iti in onn ction with nei nt Gr ek edicn tt ntion i invit d to th xc llent artiel by Lt Col F H Garn on in *PCC* v 35 51 nd "Th Gre k Cult of th De d and th Chthom n D iti in An i nt M dicn i *AMH*, i 17 i 35 53

Such power were personal and were used in the manner of one killed in an art but although a cultic practice it was not priestly function Achilles prayed directly to Zeus of Dodona whose response came from the leaves of the many tongued oak or the dream of the *selloi* of unwarlike feet (*ib.*, xvi 236)

Oracles were associated with the earth and were therefore regarded as a function of the chthonic rather than of the uranic deities Each oracle was inspired by the god or hero presiding over it Special virtue attached to certain spots which were supposed to favor inspiration clefts in the rock or earth from which vapor arose often of a noxious character as at the Ploutonia in the Maiandros valley or the bubbling hot or cold spring as at the Gate of Thermopylae (Frazer *Pausanias*, iii 297) Some of the places had more virtue than others as Delphi in Phokis the seat of the Pythian the greatest of all oracles which was inspired by Mother Earth through Python long before it was captured by the Olympian Apollo Its authority had much weight especially in political matters that it was believed that the inspiration came from Zeus and was transmitted through him on Oracular responses were usually given while the priest or medium was in a state of trance ecstasy or madness as Pythia sitting on a tripod over the cleft at Delphi chewing laurel leaves drinking water breathing the rising vapor and muttering disconnected half articulated words or sounds Plato (*Phaedr.*, 244) considered this divine madness an ecstasy in which the human soul is possessed of a deity At first oracles and interpretation of dreams were delivered in plain language but later the utterance became enigmatical ambiguous and incoherent

ent and were announced by official interpreter who
translating them into hexameter

Dreams and the dream oracle Incubation

Dreams were universally regarded as divine and prophetic whether coming to an individual or through an oracle Aristotle acknowledged (Plutarch *de Placitis Philosophorum*, v 2) the mantic efficacy of natural dream and Sokrates believed that the vision of good men were pure and prophetic that when neither appetite nor surfeiting may trouble during slumber that part which is best in him but may suffer it alone by itself in its pure essence to behold and aspire toward some object and apprehend what it knows not some event of the past it may be or something that now is or will be hereafter with peace within that part wherein reason is engendered on the move you know I think that in sleep of this sort he lays special hold on truth (Plato *de Republica*, 571 C) In the *Iliad* (1 63 ll 6) Zeus is a sender of dream both true and false but they were however more commonly ascribed to the inspiration of the lower world so that Euripides (*Hecuba*, 70) could speak of O Earth dread Queen mother of dream that thou fit on able wings Dreams were of two kinds divine or cle given in dreams and individual the oracle of the soul itself in dreaming Artemidoros (I 1 b 2) divided them further into dream to be followed literally which at times had to be explained and dreams which indicate the remedy indirectly the latter requiring an interpreter The divine and prophetic nature of such vision was a part of the Orphic and Pythagorean doctrine and was ascribed by Pindar (*Thracior*, ll 4 5 ed Mommsen) The soul slumbers while the body is active but when the body slumbers

he hews forth in many a vision the approaching issue of woe and weal Aischylo (*op cit*, 104) expressed the same view In slumber the eye of the soul waxed bright but by day time man's doom goes unforeseen Demokrito believed in daimon who revealed them elv's in the form of personal emanation (Plutarch *op cit*) Poeidonios declared his belief in these divine communication and held that one way in which such perception arose was that the air was full of immortal spirits in whom all signs of truth were stamped and visible (Cicero *de Divinatione*, 1 30) Efforts were made to entice dream and when sought for divine direction for healing or any other purpose the suppliant (or any kinsman representing him) retired to the shrine of the god or hero whose inspiration was desired and slept in the portico of the temple or near the image of the divinity Only the pure were permitted to approach the god and such temple sleep or incubation (*egkormesis*) was always preceded by rites of purification and by abstinence from wine and food for varying length of time and a customary ritual was for the suppliant to sleep on the skin of the victim he had sacrificed (Lykophron 1050) The ceremonies are described by Aristeides (*Oratio Sacra*, 1) and were designed in part at least to increase the tendency to dreaming and to enhance the clearness of the vision Such visions were more prone to occur during the early hours of the morning, for then the soul is free from the effects of material sustenance (Philostratus *Vita Apollonii*, 11 36) The dream oracle was assumed to be more definitely inspired by the divinity and it was therefore more authoritative than the ordinary vision or dream Deities and heroes having a dream oracle showed a strong tendency to exercise the healing function Temple sleep was a characteristic practice in ancient Babylonia but it is not altogether clear how it arose

in Greece whether independently by importation via Lydia from Egyptian traveller or later with the cult of Sarapi and Isis a 1 ometime a sserted Indication of an ancient dream oracle may be noted in the practice of the *selloi* at Dodona' but incubation is believed to have come into use after Homer time and long before 333 B C, when the first Egyptian temple in Greece wa erected at Peiraeus to Aphrodite as Isi at the in tance of Ptolemy I

Priests and incubation

The frequent llu ion to priest acting a interme diaries between the suppliant and the deity and the f ct that in the cult of Sarapi and Isis it was cu tomary for them to incubate for their patient have led to the belief that the practice prevailed in Greek cult though perhap to a le ser extent In this incubation and the subsequent interpretation of the visions and dreams the priest were upposed to be inspired or po es ed by the god and often appeared to be in a tate of ec t y like th t of the prie tesses of Pythia At Amphikleia the oracle of Dionyso were given out by a priest who wa believed to be inspired by the god and to be acting a hi mouth piece a a *katochos*, and it is known that the ame cu tom wa followed at the Ploutonia of Hade and Persephone and sometimes at the hrines of A klepio (Pau ania X xxxiii 11) Whether or not thi led to a more or le organi ed profession of prie t a medium in Greece at the Serapeum at Memphi is not known

G uthi r *Recherches historiq s sur l' x rcise de édecine d l s te pl s, chez les peuples de 'antiq té*, pp 106 ff also L H Gr y 'Incub tion in *ERE* vii 206 207

Welcker Zu d Alt rthu ern d r H ilkund bei den Gri ch ' 1 *KS* iii 90

H lton *Incubatio*, r *C r of Dis e P g Te p e d Christi Ch rches*, p 105 cf *pr*, pp 78 7

Decadence of cults and oracles

With the loss of independence to Rome the Greek institutions including the great national cults declined. Their individuality was invaded and confused with those from Egypt, Syria, and farther east. The oracles weakened; their uppliants were few and the most of them became silent. Plutarch in commenting on this fact (*de Defec. Orac.*, ix) quotes Sophocles as saying: "Though the god never die yet their gift do." The philosopher trimmed their view to the new influence and endeavored to adjust their speculation and theories to Oriental mystic theosophy. At the same time the Eastern type of incubation with magic and various methods of divination, was emphasized with a freshened interest in the marvelous.

Animal incarnations

In the early Hellenic religion there are traces of animal worship and of a belief in animal incarnation of a divinity. Antenor or hero Apollo Lykeios was a reminder of the time when he was still a god of the wild and associated with the wolf, his sacred animal (Pausanias, II, xix, 34).⁷ The serpent may have been worshipped in his own right as in the old Delphic religion with which the snake was always connected or as the incarnation of Zeus Meilichios, Aklaios, or some other chthonian divinity. The serpent was a familiar animal in Greek religion and mythology as a sacred and mystic being having magic power which were associated with prophecy, dream, and healing (Apollodorus, I, 96). Helenos, Kassandra, and Melampus acquired their upper

⁷ *Fernle op cit.*, iv, 113-11.

Id., in *ERE* vi, 39-404.

Id., *Cults* iii, 10-10. E. Kuiter, *Die Schlangen in der griechisch-keltischen Religionsgeschichte*, in *RVV*, 1913, xiii, 1-172.

natural understanding and mantic power after their ears had been cleansed by the tongue of a serpent. The serpent always had a chthonic significance. It was used as a symbol of the Underworld deities and heroes and was frequently associated with the healing cult (Aelian *Historia Animalium*, viii 12 xvi 39 also Pausania IX xxxix 3). The oracles of Trophonios at Lebadeia were delivered by a serpent (Frazer *op cit*, v 203).

Disease ascribed to superhuman agencies

It has been shown that disease and death like other processes of nature the cause of which were not visible were ascribed to superhuman agencies of celestial or chthonic origin. Zeus sent disease yet he declared to the immortals 'Alas! How forsooth do mortals reproach the god! For they say that their evils are from us whereas they themselves through their own infatuation suffer grief beyond what is destined' (*Odys*, i 30). Apollo sent disease and sudden death among men (*Il*, i 50) and Artemis inflicted disease especially mentally and nervous disorders and death among women.¹ The chthonic causes of disease and were feared particularly for their attack upon the nervous system resulting in madness by tetra epilepsy and general neurosis. Heroes, daemons, spirits of the dead and the hound of Hekate were all potential agents in bringing illness among mankind. Such popular beliefs are referred to in the Hippocratic treatise *de Morbo Sacro*.

But terror which happens during the night and fever, delirium and jumping out of bed and frightful apparitions and fleeing away—all these they hold to be the plot of Hekate and the invasion of the Heroes.

Hilld'y, *Greek Divinity*, p. 70

¹ Gruppe *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 1273-1274

Adams, *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, ii 337

Herakle developed madness through the chthonian Lyssa by direction of Hera. Poseidon, Ares, and Herakle were also mentioned as causing disease, and Greek literature contains many such allusions. Long painful and wasting illness was due to being granted by a hateful deity (*Odys*, v 395-396). Vengeful fiends brought disease (Sophokles *Trachinæ*, 1236). Sudden illness was attributed to Pan (Euripides *Medea*, 1170 ff). It was not clear whether Phrygian disease was caused by Pan, Hekate, the Korymbante, Kybele, or Diktynna (*id*, *Hippolytus*, 170 ff). Epilepsy was supposed to be passed from one person to another. Contagion as the cause of the spread of disease was not recognized by the Greeks, and such apparent diffusion of convulsive disease was probably of the hysterical variety, similar to the chorea and religious frenzy of more recent date.

Attitude of divinity toward disease and healing

Such misfortune was visited upon mankind in anger, revenge, and punishment, but (in the time of Homer at least) it appears that all gods had equal powers for protection and relief. The Greek tradition and myth contain numerous instances of many gods, heroes, and heroines exercising their supernatural power for healing, but only two deities, Paian and Asklepios, are known exclusively as healers. The earliest traditions of Greek healing cluster about the divinity Paian, the Centaur Cheiron, and the hero Asklepios, with Apollo as an oracular deity in an honorary capacity.

Paian and Apollo

Paian was the first Greek divinity who specialized in healing, and his name frequently appears in classical literature as a generic term for divine skill in the healing art (*Odys*, iv 232) while as the physician of the Olympians.

pian circle he drew the wound of injured deities (*Il*,
 v 401-900) Although often confused with Apollo Paian
 is distinct in all early Greek literature (Hesiod *Frag*
menta, 144) and as mentioned by Homer (*Il*, xvi 514-
 529) Apollo was not a healer but acted merely as a
 friendly divine helper when in response to the appeal
 of Glaukos he dried the black gore from the grievous
 wound and instilled strength into his [Sarpedon's] soul
 Solon in the sixth century B.C. still speaks (xii 53-62
Frag, 13-45) of Paian and Apollo as separate personali-
 ties describing the follower of the former as a phy-
 sician having the task of Paian rich in herb but in
 referring to Apollo and his priests he omits any mention
 of a healing function The epithet Paian as applied to
 Apollo is first found in the Orphic hymns (xxxiv 1) of
 the late sixth century B.C. Pindar (*Pythia*, iv 480) gives
 him the same title while Alciphilos (*op cit*, 62) ascribes
 to Apollo Loxias the surname *iatriomantis*, and after
 about this time Apollo is frequently referred to as the
 supreme divine healer It is significant that the titles
 indicative of the healing function were given Apollo after
 the time when the alliance with Asklepios is believed to
 have been effected in Phokis Although Apollo bore the
 epithet he does not appear as active in healing but
 rather as having honorary title and exercising a general
 vague supervision over the art Notwithstanding the
 popularity of the Delphic oracle only two cases of minor
 illness have been found recorded as having appealed to
 him there The active duty of healing the sick was per-
 formed by his son Asklepios the Thessalian hero phy-
 sician to whom he as Apollo Maleates gave his divine
 approval

The cradle of Greek medicine

Of all the many state of Greece The saly tands forth prominently in medicine a being the cradle in which the early healing cu tom and tradition of the Greeks were fo tered Here on the slope of Mount Pelion Cheiron the mystic Centaur lived famed for hi cientific attain ment and hi knowledge of the medicinal propertie of plant A tribe of Thes ly and near by Magnesia claimed de cent from him worshipped him as a divine physician nd tre ured hi plant lore a a hereditary and acered po e ion Even the witche of The aly whom the peo pl credited with making the moon de cend to earth were bot ni t and were equainted with the marvellou vir tue of medicinal plant In thi environment Asklepio h d hi mythical birth nd breeding The god Her kle and m ny of th neient heroe who developed healing function w re al o pupil of Cheiron and learned th precept r re that enabled them Disea e and mort l p in to su ge (Pindar *op cit*, iii 45 46)

Early healing customs

The epic relate that the knowledge of the he ling propertie of pl nt which A klepio had received from Cheiron wa applied by those excellent physician hi on Machaon and Podaleirio during the Trojan War nd cording to ll tradition they transmitted their le rning to their de cend nt the cl n of Asklepiad i a acered heritage In thi heroic age wound wer treated by tho e skilled in many remedies who adopt d the rational method of removing foreign bodie and dre ing with mild oothing salubriou or bitter pain a uaging root nd herb (*Il*, iv 219 xi 512 830 845 xvi 29) the only mention of magic i when it w u ed

to pay the black blood of the wounded Odyseus (*Odys*, xix 456) When disease came and the camp of the Greeks was decimated by pestilence they sought a seer a prophet a priest or one informed in dreams to tell them how to appease the wrath of the gods and they offered prayers and unblemished hecatombs for sacrifice in atonement and expiation Disease as it affected the individual had little interest for the writer of the epic yet they indicate the means ordinarily taken for relief by declaring that the gods were the source of health The beloved father lies in a disease and waiting for long time and the god has freed him welcome from his evil plight (*ib*, v 397)

The healing rituals and miracles

The general power of the god and the mighty potency of the seer and heroes were invoked for healing by the customary ritual hymn of praise prayer and sacrifice and it may be surmised that the wonder working imagination of the people idealized the subsequent cure as the superhuman beneficent act of friendly divine demigod and heroes irrespective of all other means employed Recoveries from serious illness were beyond any understanding that the people had of the natural law governing the body in health and disease and being therefore regarded as miracle wrought by superhuman spiritual power they were so recorded on temple and tablet

Magic and healing

Magic that bastard sister of science,³ which included rite of positive efficacy both with and without appeal to divinity had dominated religion and the heal

Fraser *The Magic Art*, 3d ed., 22?

Farnell in *ERE* vi 401

ing art in Mesopotamia and Egypt for centuries before the traditional settlement of Hellenes, warping the mind and effectually dwarfing intellectual progress. A similar relation existed in Greece though materially tempered in quality. The affinity of magic with religion in antiquity was so close that they were not differentiated clearly but for Greece and especially for Rome it may be understood that as a general proposition the worship of the native gods recognized by the State and the ceremonial prescribed by officials were the test of orthodoxy and religion. The cults of other gods and their rites as well as the foreign religions (Theokritos II 462) especially those of the Orient were magic and heterodox.⁷ This however, did not necessarily impair belief in the reality and power of magic. The hymns of the Orphic cult were full of magic incantations and formulae. Incantation and exorcism were part of the hylastic rites for the cure of disease but the æsthetic sense serene temperament and freedom of thought saved the Greeks from debasing and degrading their religious ideal with the darker cramping superstition and sorcery of their neighbors.

The methods of religious healing

The cure reported in Greek religious practice may be grouped as effected by either one of two methods (*a*) the direct healing by direct divine intervention very commonly by the transmission of the divine power by means of some agent or sacred object and (*b*) the indirect healing by the employment of measures directed by divine communication through oracle dream vision or omen.

The direct method

The healing power of the god was transmitted by the

⁷ K. F. Smith 'Magic' (Greek and Roman) in *ERE* VIII 2 4 ff.

impl divine presence by the laying on of hand through some sacred relic or through the medium of a priest priestess or sacred animal In the case the god repeatedly appears in person and may apply remedy but seldom or never fails to be attended by some member of his official family he is often represented by one of them as by a priest in the garb of the deity and occasionally by a sacred animal usually the serpent The hand of the deity was believed to have both apotropaic and healing power and healing by coming in contact with the image of the god or by the laying on of the hand was a common practice in many cult especially in those of Asklepios Dionysos Epaphros, Sabaios and Eleithyia The right hand was considered beneficent but the left hand had an opposite or sinister influence somewhat akin to the reputed power of the Gorgon blood that from the right side being curative and that from the left having injurious, even fatal effect (Apollodoro III x 3) The right or healing hand of the god was represented as being raised with the palm outward and the thumb and first two fingers open the other two being partly closed very much as used in the gesture of supplication and blessing (Pausanias V xxv 5 Frazer *Paus*, III 641) The raised hand of Asklepios and Sarapionot only healed the sick but saved from shipwreck and other dangers The closed right hand or the use of the left was of sinister import and was believed to check all progress at childbirth In sculptures the god is shown approaching the bedside and extending the right hand over the patient or touching him with it Such use of the hand for healing and protection was expressed by the epithet Hyperdexios which was given Zeus and Apollo and Hyperdemia given to Athena (*IG* XII 1 22)

The attitude of prayer in ancient art
 Wilmrich *Antike Heilungswunder*, p 41

Examples

Suda report th t A klepio healed Theopompo the writer of comedie by the laying on of hand as wa hown in n Attic relief ⁴ and another cure wa effected by h_i healing right hand nd a healing drink (*IG* iv 952 122 ff) Diogenes Laertio (v 76) ay that Demetrio of Phaleron wrote pæ n a a votive offering of gratitude to Sarapi who had re tored his ight by his healing touch ⁴¹ A barren woman sleeping in the temple dreamed that A klepio c me nd dive ted her of her clothing fter which he touched her body with h_i finger where upon he wa healed of her di ability and bore a child to her hu band (*IG* iv 952 60 ff) A man having but one eye lept in the *abaton*, and dreaming that A klepio applied an ointment to the empty ocket he awoke in the morning with two sound eye (*IG* iv 951 120 ff) Heraieu of Mitylene who was bald lept in the *abaton* and dreamed that the god pplied an ointment to h_i head when he awoke he h d thick growth of hair Galeno w cured a the re ult of a dream in which Asklepio ppeared to him he then became a phy ician healed by the dre m or cle and directed by dream he perform d operation nd pr cticed optic

The divine healing power w tran mitted through acred erpent and dogs (*CIA* II iii 1651 Pau ania II xxvii 2) A man foot that had been badly lacerated by the bite of a wild be t w promptly cured after the wound had been licked by one of the cult reptiles Thyson of Hermione was blind in both eyes but recovered h_i ight at once after they had been licked by a acred dog Marino tell of Proklo ⁴ the philosopher who offering

⁴ W inr i h op cit, p 2

⁴¹ *Ib*, p 6

⁴ *Ib*, p 77

⁴ *Ib*, p 90 not 3

probably from arthritis had covered the part with a cloth. A parrow sacred to Asklepios plucked the cloth away and the disease with it. The statue of Theagenes in Thakos and of Pulydama at Olympia cured fever (Frazer *op cit*, iv 39). The statue of the Corinthian general Pelichos which possessed healing power saved from fever and Eukrate was so grateful for his own cure that he plated the breast of the effigy with gold.⁴⁴ Gaining power to cure oneself by touching the image of the god or his altar was recognized and healing by kissing some sacred object or being touched by the foot of a holy person is vaguely referred to

The indirect method

Accounts of cures by following directions received through dreams and vision are more common and are often more circumstantial. An extant fragment from the shrine at Lebena records cure due to the application of remedies indicated by the god in vision.⁴⁵ The remedies prescribed varied widely from mild and innocent purgative root herb diet fast bath and rubbing with ointment to gymnastic and general regimen. The various measures were usually applied with some sympathetic magic or were accompanied by the use of magic formula and incantation. Sometime the remedies were heroic repeated emetic bleeding to exhaustion and plunging into stream in midwinter (Aristotle *op cit*, i 11). During the third century B.C. Hierophilus remarked that remedies were the gift of the god and when rightly used were the hands of the god⁴⁶ and in parts of Greece an herb called the hand of the mother of god

⁴⁴ Winkler *op cit*, p. 137

⁴⁵ J. Zingri, *Heilungsrufe von Lebena* in *MAIA*, 1896, xi 792

⁴⁶ Dyer *Statues of the Gods of Greece*, p. 219

was cattered about before and after a birth a protection to the parturient woman⁴⁷ Purification and fasting before incubation followed by prescription received by visions or dream appear as the ordinary procedure in the cults of many deities heroes and heroine exemplified especially in those of Hades Dionysos and Amphiaraios as well as that of Asklepios the inspired message being received by the patient or through the medium of a priest relative or friend⁴

Sacred waters

Many of the water and stream of Greece especially the rivers Acheloo and Kephiso werepiritualised and had remarkable curative virtue (Pausanias IV xxxi 4 V v 11 VIII xix 3) Mineral spring and bath many sacred to Herakles were first mentioned by Ibykos (*Frag*, 46) Sophokles refer (*op cit*, 634) to the hot bath at Mount Œta (near Thermopylai) and the poet Krates and his friends visited a hot bath where there was a sort of hospital called *paioneion*, at which Paian was invoked (Belluæ *Frag*, 2) All healing sanctuaries were abundantly supplied with water and although some of the water appear to have had definite medicinal properties they were for the most part magical The drinking of the water at the spring at Pergamon gave speech to a mute while upon another it conferred the gift of prophecy (Aristides *Oratio in puterum Æsculapi*, i 447) The Boiotai divined by means of a drinking well among the

⁴⁷ Wierich, *op cit*, p 12 not 3

⁴ For further details concerning their effect see by Gr. Krates, *giu thod* and the inscriptions relating thereto, ult. Wierich, b, J. Baunack, *Epigr. phil. ch. Kleinigh. iten. u. Griech. hnd.* i. *Philologus*, 1889, xlviii 385-427. T. Baunack, *Inscript. n. au. de kr. ti. h. n. A. kl. pieio* i. *ib.*, 1890, xlix 577-606. and J. Baunack, *In christen. au. dem. A. kl. pi. ion. u. Epid. uro.* in *SGAS*, 18, i 120-144.

runs of Hysiai at the half finished temple of Apollo (Pausanias IX ii 1) and the water from the spring at Kassoti ran underground and inspired women with the spirit of prophecy in the shrine of Apollo at Delphi (*ib*, X xxiv 7)

Votive offerings

Fee were paid and object of various kind were presented as thank offering for cure often in compliance with previous vow. Such gifts were of money, sculptured replicas of part cured in cripions on tablet, bas-relief depicting the god and his attendant in healing scenes, statue of the deity or ornament and relic dedicated to the divinity and his temple. Hymn of praise composed for the deity were offered and several oration of Aristide eulogizing Asklepio are supposed to have had a similar origin. Aristarchos was healed by the extended right hand of the god and was required to write a votive drama based upon Asklepiian legend.⁴ Side by side with tablet relating cures were others warning of dreadful happening if the suppliant should fail to keep his vow or should neglect to reward the service of the deity.⁵ Instances are given of cures that were revoked and of punishment that were inflicted upon such recreants.

General evidences of Greek religious healing

Such are a few of the records illustrative of traditional religious healing that have been found on the sites of the old healing sanctuaries of Asklepio chiefly at Athens and Epidauros in inscription and classical literature. Further excavation especially on the sites of the shrine of other deities, would doubtless corroborate the references made by classical writers indicating that the heal

⁴ Wehrsch *op cit*, pp 45

⁵ *Ib*, p 4, note 2

ing practices of other cult a of Herakle at Thermopylai Dionysos at Amphikleia Amphiaraos at Oropos Herakles at Acharaka and Nysa and Trophonios at Lebadeia were of a similar general character. The religious magic and rational elements of practice were probably blended at all such sanctuaries but the religious feature continued to predominate over the practical. The religiosity of the people and their faith in their god would have prevented those engaged in healing from wholly disregarding religion or even from making a wide departure if they had so desired. It is known that physicians practising among the people independently of the cult were not permitted to neglect the healing god. At Athens and probably elsewhere they were obliged to sacrifice to Asklepios and Hygieia twice each year for themselves and for their patient (CIA II 352 b).

Miraculous cures

The character of the cure recorded on the tablet found in the excavations at Epidauros and Athens led Kavvadias to assert that the recoveries at the Asklepieia during the Greek period were entirely of the class of the *eihamata* or miraculous acts of the god and that only later during the Roman period when the dream oracle were more in evidence was there an infusion of rationality in the treatment of disease. It has been pointed out however that in all religions there are tales designed for edification and traditions of miracle illustrative of the divinity and power of the god and that these recorded on temple and tablet should not be regarded as historical documents but rather as a collection to influence doubters and for the gratification of the credulous (Frazer *op cit*, II 239).¹ Mythical tales were current concerning all

¹ K. v. d. Hoffmann *Die Epidaure*, p. 115. Also E. Thraemer, 'Heilthum und Gott des Heilings' (Griech. d. Rom.), I *ERE* VI 542.

Greek divinitie and there were legend of miraculou cure effected by deitie who practiced healing occasion ally a well those definitely identified with therapeutic cult They were the tock torie of the cult and wer freely u ed to impre the uppliant with the belief th t the upern tural power of the divinity were till avail able for them At the anctuary of Epidauro a prob ably at the hrines of other healing god and heroe they were diligently u ed a exhibit to render the mind mor u ceptible to dream and vi ions a well a to make it more pli ble for mental ugge tion and for carrying out the practical mea ure directed by the e divine revela tion The records found repre ent the uper titiou ele ment always pre ent in religiou he ling and the cure recited were actual miracles evidences of the divinity of the healer or pious fraud according to the point of view The e te timonial and ex voto do not in any way negative the cultic traditions and collateral evidence th t rational remedies were used in connection with theurgic pr ctice and in compliance with the interpretation of dre m and vi ion

Origin of rational medicine in temple practice

It h been hown that the u e of remedie from pl nt wa a cu tomary practice among the early tribe and their de cendant and it cannot be doubted that this traditional therapeutic folklore wa transmitted by the A klepiad to their brethren of Knido and Ko and formed the basis for the observations from which the early endeavors for cientific method in medicine were developed There wa a current tradition that Hippok r te le rned and practiced the dietetic part of medicine from the narratives of cure su pended in the temple at Ko (Strabo XIV ii 19 p 657 C al o Pliny *Historia Naturalis*, xx 100) Such legend are upheld by th te ti

mony of many ancient writers particularly by Apollodorus (iv 22) and Iamblichus (*de Mysteriis*, iii 3) that profane medicine and the use of remedies and regimen arose in cultic practice in association with the dream oracle the *θούριον* and the interpretation of dream and more definitely in the healing shrine of Asklepios who more than all others, represented the highest type of religious healing in ancient Greece

Religious and practical medicine

The Hippocratic writings indicate that the Asklepiadae of the early medical school conducted within the cult of Asklepios were exceedingly practical in their mode of thought. That such was the fact is clearly shown by the remark of a Knidian author that to offer up prayer is no doubt becoming and good but while praying to the god a man ought also to use his own exertion (*Hippocratic de Insomniis*, Sec IV ch ii (87)). Although utilizing the religious method according to the universal belief of their time they endeavored to eliminate superstition and to place the practice of healing on a more rational footing based upon observations many of which were made a matter of record. A recent writer referring to ancient Greek medicine in general very aptly remarks that "Without any method of centralizing medical education and standardizing teaching there was a great variety of doctrine and of practice in vogue among them and much of this was on a low level of folk custom. Such lower grade material of Greek origin has come down to us in abundance. But the overwhelming mass of earlier Greek medical literature set forth for us a pure scientific effort to observe and to classify disease on rational ground and to apply remedies when possible

on a reasoned basis. The lines of cleavage between theurgic and practical medicine were present as early as the fifth century B.C. The spirit of religious tolerance in antiquity permitted the application of rational measures in the treatment at the temple with the same freedom and independence of religious control that characterized the formulation of theories by philosophers. It may be that Aristotle (*Politica*, III 15) wished to draw a contrast and to emphasize the absence of prejudice and control when he called attention to the restrictions placed upon Egyptian physicians in being obliged to follow established and officially authorized method of treatment. The encouragement of and the cooperation in, the use of rational therapeutics in the cult of Asklepios is illustrated if not fully confirmed by an Athenian votive tablet of the fourth century B.C. found in the excavation showing a patient lying on a couch and a physician attending him while the larger passive figure of Asklepios stands by supervising and by his presence giving his divine sanction to the treatment.⁴ In a dedication found at Kibyra in Asia Minor the person healed gave thanks to Asklepios, to the Tyche of the city and to Dionysos, the physician who treated him indicating the cooperation between theurgical and practical therapeutics.

Introduction of foreign healing cults

In the later period under Roman domination foreign cults were introduced. Isis and Sarapis had already come from Egypt and their worship spread rapidly threatening serious rivalry with that of Asklepios. The cult of Mithra and other Oriental deities gained a foothold and

Singer *Greek Biology and Greek Medicine*, p. 82

⁴ Holland, *Plastik und Medizin*, p. 122 fig. 26

W. Kubitschek und W. Reichel, Bericht über den Sommer 1913, u. geführt Reise in Karion in *AKAW*, 1893, xxx 104

a certain following in Greece but Asklepios never failed to hold the first place in the pantheon as the active representative god of healing. About this time there appeared a growing tendency toward magic and a craving for the marvellous. Stimulated apparently by foreign influence the evil attendant upon incubation especially the interpretation of dreams by priest became pronounced. Whatever of deception had been practiced by the cult in the earlier Greek period fraud of a grosser character frequently developed into a cause of scandal. The abuses occurring in a period coming within the scope of early history and commented on by Herodotus and Herodotus were so emphasized that several modern writers have assumed that such practice characterized all Greek religious therapeutic and that the priest-physician were only unworthy charlatans who were able to advance their own fortunes but not the science of medicine and the healing sanctuaries have been stigmatized as a hive of priestly chicanery and enile superstition.⁷

The descent of Greek medicine

Greek medicine appears to have arisen from the early folklore of the people blended with their religious belief. The descent from this general fountain was early divided into two main streams: the one flowing through cultic channel to Hippokrates and his followers; the other through physician who practiced outside the cult. A history emerges from the mist of fable and poetry. Killed physician appear as practicing among the people and as official doctor of the larger cities and as independent of the belief in theurgic medicine as their per-

M. L.igne, *Lettres sur l'histoire de la chirurgie*, pp. 57-1.
 D. R.berg, *Étude de la médecine et de la chirurgie*, pp. 75.

⁷ Thucydides in *ERE* vi. 542.

onalities and the sentiment of the age permitted Many prominent citizen of older Greece may be considered in this category although most of them are better known as philosophers such as Thales Anaximandros Pherekyde Empedokle Epimenides Pythagora and Anaxagoras Self styled physicians worked among the people from very early times and in the later Greek period (possibly much earlier) they had their offices (*iatreia*) on the street and conducted hospitals Many cities had physicians under salary who were heads of public hospitals with a full equipment of consulting rooms pharmacies and operating room with instruments Demokede of Kroton held such an office at Athen in the 5th century B.C. and became the most distinguished physician of his day (Herodotos III 125) An inscription from Karpathos praises the physician Menokrito for remaining at his post during the plague and another from Athen tells of the award of a wreath to Pheidias a Rhodian physician for offering his services as a public doctor gratis Allusion in literature suggests that physicians practicing outside the temple were regarded with contempt by those within but they carry no conviction that such treatment were justified The Greek of all classes were faithful to their gods and it is believed that physicians both without and within the temples of the several States looked up to Asklepios as a divine exemplar (CIA II 352 b) Under the fostering care of the healing temples on the one hand and the independent physicians and philosophers on the other medical knowledge was enriched by facts gathered from many recorded observations and questions arising from natural phenomena of human life were examined coordinated and clarified until the healing art emerged from temple schools chiefly from Knidos Kos Kroton and finally

Alexandria and from the *iatreia* of the cities elucidated and systematized by tentative theories for further study application and preparation for indefinite development

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES HEROES AND HEROINES

The deity heroes and heroine sketched in this section embrace those who were recognized as healers and many other known in mythology in various other spheres of activity but who on occasion exercised their curative power for the sick and wounded

THE HEALING DEITIES

Aklepios	Hades	The Nymph
Amphirao	Hekate	Orpheus
Aphrodite	Helios	Paian
Apollo	Hephaistos	Pan
Arion	Hera	Persephone
Artemis	Herakles	Poseidon
Athena	Hermes	Prometheus
Auxesia	Hygieia	Rhea
Damia	Iris	Sibyls
Demeter	Thukydides	Sarapis
Dionysos	Kirke	Telephos
Eileithyia	Leto	Themis
Epaphros	Maleates	Trophos
Genetylos	The Muse	Zeus

ASKLEPIOS

Asklepios, first mentioned by Homer (*Il.*, iv 194) as a noble physician eventually became the chief healer

Asklepios being the chief exemplar of all divine healing in ancient Greece placed at the head of the list and considered first

ing divinity of the Greek the most respected exemplar of divine healing of the pagan world and one of the most prominent deities of the pantheon. About him centered the famous and widespread cult whose devotees the Asklepiadae were the earliest to develop and record the clinical observations that inaugurated the evolution of medicine from a purely theurgic to a scientific basis and whose ethical standards have been accepted throughout the Christian era.

The name

According to an Epidaurian legend the name Asklepios was derived from Aigle one of his reputed mother but by another tradition it was traced to a combination of Askles, the name of a king whom he cured of yew disease early in his career with Epion (Mild) a term by which the god had been known. The correct etymology is quite uncertain but it is of interest to note that the legend of Phokis associates Asklepios with Apollo at Delphi while those of Messenia and Lakonia bring him into relation with the sun god Helios. Hence a deity he appears to have been an amalgamation of chthonic hero and solar divinity.

His origin

History makes no reference to the origin of Asklepios except as drawn from local traditions and myth celebrated by early Greek poets and other writers which were evidently altered and distorted from time to time in the interest of the cult and its chief divinity. The estimates of tradition assign his life to a period anterior to the Trojan War and about the thirteenth century B.C. Homer (*Il.*, ii 729 iv 219 xi 512) refers to him as

^o Grupp *op cit*, pp 1441 1442 l o Fox *Mythology, Greek and Roman*, p 279

native of The saly one of the Greek heroes who was instructed by Cheiron in the use of herb and roots and the art of healing and who e ons Machaon and Podaleirios led the men from Trikke hilly Ithome and Oichalia to the Trojan War where they applied the healing art taught them by their father with uch skill that they gained renown a men worth many others It is related that in his youth Asklepios accompanied the Argonauts on their voyage to Kolchis where he outstripped all other pupils of Cheiron in healing The Minyai were among his early devotees and it may be that it was on this expedition that he gained the favor of the tribe

An earth spirit and hero

Asklepios was ranked as a hero of ancient Greece and his cult at its inception was accordingly that of an earth spirit the soul of an ancestor worshipped by his descendants The serpent was his symbol and he acquired an oracle These essentially chthonic characteristics served to classify him from the beginning and throughout his long career as belonging to the Underworld notwithstanding the many aspects of a solar deity and god of light which he acquired after his apotheosis and in which he appeared at many of his later sanctuaries The tradition of Theseus indicates that his own tribe and their neighbors regarded him as a hero

Development of the cult Asklepios and Apollo

The cult of Asklepios developing about the memory of his deed of healing grew in favor and from Trikke his most ancient shrine (Strabo IX v 17 p 437 C) spread to Ithome across the borders of Aitolia to Oichalia to Minyeian Northern Boiotia and resided for a time at Orchomenos near the Lebadeion shrine of Trophonios

¹ E Thrumer in Pauly Wi ow n 1643

W lton *The Cult of Asklepios*, pp 43 f cf l o von Wih mo
 wit Mollendorf, *Isy los von Ep d i ros*, nd B un ck *Arisch St de* ,
 1 147 160

that connected Apollo with the birth legend of Asklepios and that the original tradition gave the honor of the paternity of Asklepios to a certain Ischy rather than the mythical Apollo

The birth legends

The oldest definite and most generally accepted legend of the birth of Asklepios follows the account found in the Homeric *Hymn to Asklepios*, Herodotus' *Fragmenta* and Pindar's third *Pythian Ode* which make him a member of the Phlegyan tribe inhabiting the Magnesian coast and Phthioti and possibly related to the Lapithae. The Homeric *Hymn* follows

I begin to sing of Asklepios son of Apollo and his mother of divine
 whom first Koronis daughter of Phlegyas bore in the
 Dodonean plain a great joy to men a mother of cruel pangs. Hail
 to thee my lord in my song I make prayer to thee

The story runs that Koronis daughter of King Phlegyas while with child by Apollo fell in love with the Arkadian Ischy and Herodotus (*op cit*, 148) says that to him then came a crow as messenger from the sacred forest to the most holy Pytho and he told the horned Phoebus of the secret deed that Ischy son of Elatos had wedded Koronis daughter of Phlegyas of birth divine (cf Ovid *Metamorphoses*, II 600 ff.) Pindar varies the tale relating that Apollo in his omniscience was aware of the unchaste deed and sent his vengeful sister to Lakereia where he punished the guilty Koronis and many of her friends with death. When Koronis lay on the funeral pyre Apollo relented, seized the babe from its mother's womb and

Away the struggling child he bore
 And bade the Pelian Centaurs
 Store its young mind with precepts rare
 Divine and mortal life to teach (*Pyth*, III 454)

And thou on the lope of Mount Pelion fostering
Cheiron

The hero Asklepios bred

Who first brought him the writhing wretch to pare
Touched by whose healing hand the pained child fled (*ib.*, 57)

There were variations of these legends that because of its evil tidings Apollo cursed the crow which from white became black (Scholion on *Pyth.*, III 48) that Apollo slew Ischy and that Hermes at the instance of Apollo rescued the child and carried it to Cheiron (Pausanias II xxvi 6). According to another legend Ischy the father of Asklepios was a Theban and a son of Elatos but confused with another Ischyron of Elatos of Arkadia. The Asklepiian myths are thus an integral part of the tradition of the Theban tribes and that Trikkion on the Lethaion river was the birthplace of the god and the cradle of the cult is supported by Homer in his *Catalogue of Ships* (II, II 729-732) and is emphasized by Strabo (IX v 17 XIV 1 39 pp 437-647 Cf. oracle in Eusebios *Præparatio Evangelica*, III xiv 6). A Meenian tradition traces the descent through the Lapithai tribe from Lapithion son of Apollo and Stilbe. The Scholiast on Pindar (*op. cit.*, III 14), quoting the poet Asklepiades tells of another mother and a sister. And Arsinoë uniting with the son of Zeus and Leto bore a son Asklepios blameless and strong, while a sister was born of the same union Eriopis with lovely hair.

The Epidaurian legends

The Epidaurian legend (Pausanias II xxvi 4-5) gives that sanctuary additional prestige by transferring the birth of Asklepios thither. The story told is that Koronis accompanied her father King Phlegyas to Argolis and unknown to him, with child by Apollo gave it secret birth on the slope of Mount Tittheion formerly Mount Myr-

gion Here the babe nur ed by a goat of a near by herd
 wa guarded by the watch dog of the flock and when
 discovered by Aristhana the hepherd it hed a radi
 ance that declared it to be of divine parentage thu gain
 ing for A klepio the later epithet Aiglær a light god
 When he wa a lad he could cure the ick and raise the
 dead Another ver ion of the birth legend i ued from
 the *hæron* of Epidauro with the authority of the Delphic
 oracle wa celebrated by the poet I yllo in a pæan dur
 ing the third century c⁴ Here ll suggestions of secrecy
 and unfaithfulne were omited and A klepio wa
 declared to be a n tive of Epidauro th on of Apollo
 by hi marriage with Aigle a daughter of Phlegya who
 wa called Koroni becau e of her beauty The babe w
 born within the aced precinct and Apollo named him
 A klepio the reliever of di e e giver of health a
 boon to mortal after hi mother Thi legend of the
 Peloponne os connect A klepio with the un god Helios
 since according to Mes enian and Arkadian tradition
 Ar noe the parent or a sometimes claimed the wife of
 A klepio wa the daughter of Helios and Aigle th
 wife of Helio become in the legend the mother of the
 healing god

Other legends

According to another Me enian legend the mother
 of A klepio w Ar noe the daughter of Leukippo
 (Pau ania II, xxvi 6 III xxvi 4) and thi wa up
 ported by the fact that in Me enia were town called
 Ithome and Oichali with a de erted Trikke near by
 (ib, IV iii 2) although it i a erted that the e ite
 were built by Mach on after the Trojan War From

Th dog thu b a of th ymbol f A kl p1 Cf fr ,
 p 308

⁴ W lto op ct, p 33

outhern Arkadia came another tradition of parentage from Ar ippos and Arsinoe the daughter of Leukippo (Apollodoro III, x 3 Cicero *de Natura Deorum* iii 22) Ari teides writing from Knidos attempt to explain the different names of the mother by aying that Ar inoe w called Koroni in her youth There are other legend of birth which are largely local and lack ub tan tial upport a that A klepio wa born t Telphou and w left to peri h but wa found by Antolaos and nur ed by turtledove (τρυγών) or according to Pau ania (VIII xxv 11) by woman named Trygon and another that the child wa nursed by a dog

The family of Asklepios

The immediate family of A klepio varie according to several tradition In Epidauros hi wife wa named Epione She wa the daughter of Merop King of Ko and the mother of Machaon and Podaleirio and of the 1 ter Hygieia Panakeia Ia o and Ake o Hygieia 1 ometime referred to s the 1 ter or wife of A klepio (Ari teide lxxix 5 *Hymni Orphici*, lxxvii 7) and th children by Hygieia are given a Panakei Epio and Ia o (Heronda , iv 4 5) Legend coming from el ewher than Epidauro give the name of the wife a Lampetia who ccording to Lakonian and Me enian tradition w connected with Aigle and Helios and who e children were given the same as Epione except that a daughter Aigle 1 mentioned and Hygieia is omitted Other tradi tions refer to the wife under other name as Aiglaiia Ar inoe Hippone Koronis and Xanthe In addition to his family there were in the retinue of the god certain d imon uch a Euamerion a spirit of good day who

For a more d t il d di eu ion of th birth l g nd E Thr
er in Ro ch r i 634 f, nd in Pauly Wi ow i 1 43 ff
Dindorf, *Aristophanis Co di* , iv 228 230

was worshipped as a god at Titane⁷ and whom Pausanias (II xi 7) equates with Telesphoros of Pergamon the daemon of convalescence and with Akesios of Epidaurion and a hypothetical one on Iamisso.

His descendants

The cult once established the family of Asklepios and his descendants devoted themselves to healing which they considered their special prerogative creating shrines and serving in the temple of the hero god. Sacrifice was offered to his wife Epione at Epidaurion while his daughter attended upon him assisted in the ritual and administered to the sick. Hygieia was not a healer but simply represented Health. She aided in receiving the suppliants and cared for the sacred serpents. Legend concerning her suggests that the early development of her divinity and worship was apart from the Asklepios cult which she joined at some place unknown. Panakeia was a definite healer being the personification of the all healing power of herbs and representing the omnipotence of the god in his art. Iaso and Akeios are mentioned as being in the retinue of the god at Epidaurion. Homer refers (II, ii 731-732) to his sons Machaon and Podaleirios although they came from the villages of Thesaly but it is claimed that the traditions of the cult in the North do not mention them and that all legends concerning them are from the Peloponnese and the Aigaian Islands. Critics affirm moreover that the passages in the Iliad referring to them are interpolation of a later date than the body of the work and hold that those relating to Podaleirios are still later than those regarding Machaon who was the older brother and the instructor and who as the surgeon was more prominent. They were taught by Asklepios himself and Arktino.

⁷ Nilsson *Griechische Fest und Feste*, p. 410.

in his *Sack of Ilium* (quoted by the Scholia to and Euthymios on *Il.*, xi, 515) say that to the one the father the famous Earth Shaker (Poseidon) gave hands more light to draw or cut out missile from the flesh and to heal all kind of wounds but in the heart of the other he put full and perfect knowledge to tell hidden diseases and cure desperate sicknesses thus making the first allusion to specialization in medicine among the Greeks

Machaon and his sons

According to a legend of the Peloponnese Machaon lived in Messenia after the Trojan War and established a town named from those in Thessaly but Pausanias (III xxvi 9-10) on the authority of the *Little Iliad* says that he was killed during the war by Eurypylos son of Telephos and that his bones were brought back by Nestor and buried at Gerenia in Messenia. A bronze statue with a wreath had been erected to his memory there and he was worshipped in the local sanctuary as a healing hero. His mother came from Korinth and it is said that the tradition of the island claims him as the founder of the St. Peter though more reliable legend appears to associate him with the Peloponneseos where he was worshipped with his father at many shrines, rather than with the Dorians coast and where his son established a shrine receiving the homage of the people as a healer. Alexanor set up a temple in the rocky gorge at Titane the first to Asklepios in the Peloponneseos and said to be the earliest trace of divine cult established by a descendant (*ib.*, II xi 5-6). Sphyros established a sanctuary at Argos in which was created an image of Asklepios in white marble (*ib.* II xxiii 4). Nikomachos (a reputed ancestor of Aristotle) and his brother Gorgasos had a healing sanctuary at Pharai, in Messenia where they were still worshipped as healers when Pausanias visited the place (*ib.* IV xxx

- 3) and Polemokrates yet another son had a similar shrine at the village of Eua in Lakonia (*ib*, II xxxviii 6)

Podaleirios

Tradition concerning Podaleirios is more vague and while he appears to have been worshipped in the Peloponnese on various legends associate him more intimately with the Aigaian Islands. He was shipwrecked on his return from the Trojan War and according to one tale he landed on the island of Skyros whence he made his way to Karia though Pausanias says (III xxvi 10) that he came ashore at Syrna on the coast of Karia and that the king of the country engaged him to treat his daughter who had fallen from a roof. Podaleirios bled her from both arms and after he had been cured the king gave her to him in marriage. They then lived on an adjoining island and he established two cities one of which he named Syrna for his wife. Tradition relates that the Asklepiadae of Kos Knidos and Rhodes were descended from Podaleirios though there are suggestions that they claimed descent from Machaon. Herakles driven to Kos by contrary wind (*Il*, xv 30) established a family of Herakleidae and the Asklepiads there traced their lineage to him on their mother's side. According to another tale (Frazer *op cit*, iii 403) Podaleirios left Karia and wandering to Apulia in Italy died in Daunum where near Mount Garganus he had a healing shrine at which incubation was practiced. Suppliants slept on sheepskins laid on his tomb and his spirit (or another claimed that of Kalchas whose shrine was on the brow of the hill above) gave oracles. Strabo says (VI iii 9 p 284 C) that from the hill where he was buried flowed a stream which was a potent cure for all diseases of cattle.

Raising the dead and the death of Asklepios

A klepio not only healed the sick but brought the dead to life as Kapaneus Tyndareus Hippolytos Glaukos and others From Athena he had received the Gorgon blood that from the left side producing evil and death while that from the right side was beneficial and with it A klepio wrought his wondrous cures and raised the dead (Apollodoros iii 120 121) Another legend is to the effect that he gained the knowledge of returning to life by watching a serpent resurrect its companion with an herb Pindar (*op cit*, iii 110) refers to the charge that in revivifying Hippolytos A klepio was prompted by an improper desire for gold Because of such avarice because he imparted his art to mortals contrary to the will of the gods and the cosmic order was being violated or because Hades complained that the success of A klepio in averting death threatened to depopulate his realm (Diodoro iv 71 Apollodoro iii 121) Hesiod (*op cit*, 109) relates that

The mighty father both of god and men
Was filled with wrath and from Olympo top
With flaming thunderbolt cast down and lew
Laton well loved on such woe his ire⁷

The burial place

By request of Apollo Zeus placed Asklepios among the stars and in anger at the death of his son Apollo killed the Kyklopes who forged the fatal bolt Herakleitos (*de Incredibilibus*, 26) however attempts to explain the death on physical grounds saying that it was due to a violent pleurisy which left a discoloration of the side a

Uffelman, *Die Entwicklung der Hgriechischen Heilkunde*, p 412

⁷⁰ Referring to Asklepios as the son-in-law of the grandson of Leto (Laton)

from a stroke of lightning. There is no substantial legend regarding the place of Asklepios' burial and no shrine was found to indicate it. Purely local traditions name Kynouria in Lakonia or Arkadia, Delphoi and Epidauros, but no evidence has been discovered that supports them.⁷¹ The legend of death tends to confirm the status of Asklepios as a hero rather than a god, since divinities were regarded as immortal. In early Achaean civilization, however, incineration by a thunderbolt implied celestial or Olympian immortality.⁷²

The transformation of the cult

The cult of Asklepios was transformed after its relation with Delphoi were established on a friendly basis and father and son were honored side by side at many of the shrines in Greece. The pact with Apollo, which must date before the time of Herakles, brought the obsolescent Thessalian hero and earth spirit into prominence and gave him worship an impetus that soon led to its rapid diffusion. Spreading southward, it gained a firm foothold in the Peloponnese and came into contact with those of other healing gods and heroes, in many of whose shrines Asklepios became an associate object of adoration. He quickly overwhelmed many of these superhuman beings and taking possession of their shrines, he assumed their names and functions, adopting them as his children and grandchildren and so increasing his retinue of attendant by numberless groups. Asklepios thus received the complexities of character, solar and chthonic that appeared in his later manifestations, often obscuring his original underworld nature and ritual. Meeting with Helios, probably first in Lakonia, the celestial aspect

⁷¹ Cox, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, p. 20.

⁷² For the classical bibliography of Asklepios legend, the reader is referred to Wilton, *op cit*, pp. 85 ff. and Gruppe, *op cit*, p. 1440.

already acquired from Apollo were emphasized by the aspect of a light deity which Asklepios gained in his relation with the underground god who was worshipped with him at Gytheion and Epidauros.

Emigration to Epidauros Deification

It is believed that it was sometime during the late seventh or early sixth century B.C. that Asklepios emigrated to Epidauros where he was worshipped with Apollo Maleates. This sanctuary then became the chief center of the cult and his power which was destined to affect profoundly the Greek mind and civilization was developed there. From Epidauros the worship expanded and all the famous sanctuaries of the god were offshoot from it. Its deputies were sent to the various parts of Greece to the Aegean Islands to Asia Minor and to the Libyan coast where they established healing shrines. The success of the cult appears to have been due to the humanity of its hero chief and to the substantial benefit it conferred. The element combined with the prestige gained by a divine personality not only won the gratitude of his devotees but also spread his fame beyond that of other healers. That his worship soon attracted to itself the greater part of the healing function of other Greek deities and heroes. Like others he received the epithet *lysios*, *alexikakos* and *aleximoros* (deliverer, averter of evil and averter of fate) used in a general rather than in a medical sense but though he still ranked as a hero the fame of his oracle and the devotion of the increasing number of his suppliant urged that he was rapidly developing on broader lines. Among the Kyrinaioi at Balagrai he was termed physician (Pausanias II xxvi 9) and Pindar (*op. cit.* III 7) still called him a hero though he treated him as a demigod. The Athenians faithful to their Homer and Hesiod regarded Asklepios

a hero when they invited him to Athen and it is doubtful whether they ever accorded him full divine rank. It is not possible to follow the steps of his progress to deification or to determine the time and place but it would appear that his apotheosis was the result of an increasing unanimity in favor of his glorification. All indications point to the Peloponnesos and it is entirely probable that his majesty and godhood were due to his Epidaurian association. Early tradition emerging from Epidaurus treats Asklepios as a deity and it is certain that at this place his divinity and his cult attained their highest development. His associates there were the higher deities of the Olympian circle whereas elsewhere they were more frequently those of lower and chthonian rank. After the centuries passed the renown of the healing god and the fame of his dream oracle grew until (in the time of Alexander the Great) Asklepios was known as one of the greater divinities while in many districts he was regarded as the head of the pantheon in cretion of the period referring to him as the son of Zeus or as Zeus himself. His votaries were numbered by the thousand, they thronged his sanctuaries and his cult was finally dominant in healing throughout the Greek and Roman world. It is interesting to note in this connection that the traditions of Theophrastus indicate that his divine nature was not recognized there until the northern states of Greece had been invaded by the southern deities.

Shrines and sanctuaries of the cult

In the early days of the cult its shrines were located in recesses of the earth in a mountain grotto or in some cave and were undoubtedly simple structures like those of other heroes consisting essentially of low lying altars.

near the level of the ground a mound of earth or a flat or roughly hewn stone with a hole in the center to receive the blood of the sacrificial animal and near some spring or stream of pure water for purification. As the worship developed temples were erected simple or more elaborate giving shelter and privacy to the image of the hero and to the statue of his guests as well as to their altar. The grounds around the shrines were sacred to the hero or god and at first no other building were allowed but as the fame of the cult grew and as the shrines attracted more suppliants and became resorts provision for guests was necessary and tents were used. Finally old prejudices gave way in some places as at Tithorea and buildings were provided both for priest and patient. With the change a larger number of the characteristic features of the earlier chthonic worship disappeared and only hints of the original ritual remained though the sites of many of the Asklepieia were associated with ancient oracle and tradition.

Location of shrines by serpents

According to legends the sacred serpent were responsible for the selection of several places where shrines were located and the serpent as the incarnation of the chthonian hero or god was transferred when a sanctuary was to be established. One of them intended for Koroibos escaped from the vessel on the shore of Lakonia while in charge of deputies and vanished in the ground at Epidauron Limera which was then selected for a shrine (Pausanias III xxiii 7). The sacred serpent that was sent as representing Asklepios to stop the pestilence at Rome disappeared from the ship as it was sailing up the Tiber and was lost to sight in the rushes of the Inula Sacra whence the Romans decided to build their great Æsculapium there. A sacred serpent representing the

god was sent to the sanctuary at Sikyon in a carriage drawn by mule (*ib*, II, x 3)

Sites of the Asklepieia

The site of the Asklepieia were judiciously selected with a view to their general salubrity pure air and water and general attractiveness Plutarch (*Quæstiones Romanæ*, 94) asked Why is the sanctuary of Asklepios outside of the city? Was it because they reckoned it a more wholesome kind of living outside of the city? For the Greeks have placed the edifice belonging to Asklepios for the most part on high places where the air is pure and clear The Asklepieia at Kyrene Carthage and Mitylene were on the Akropolis that at Kyllene was in a smiling country on a cape overlooking the sea, that at Megalopolis in a wood on the side of a mountain that at La in Lakonia on the side of Mount Ilion near a stream of pure water those at Epidauros and Kleitor were in open valleys protected from the wind by surrounding mountains and that at Kos was on a slope in a suburb of the city Ample and good water was provided by spring and stream but the water at several of the sanctuaries was reputed to be of definite medicinal value The location at Pergamon was one of unusual attractiveness and the water of the spring at the very foundation of the temple was so delicious that Aristides said that he preferred it to the sweetest wine The shrine at Aigion was near a spring of bubbling water pure and agreeable that at Lindos was on a stream of excellent water that at Koron in Lakonia was by the Plataian spring celebrated for its medicinal properties a salt bubbling spring from the rock bathed the temple at Kenchreiai (Pausanias II ii 3) and at Epidauros there was a fountain and an aqueduct in addition to the sacred spring which was enclosed by beautiful structure Many of the temples were

urrounded by groves of tree that of the Asklepion
 t Athen being a matter of official concern and care of
 the Council The grove at Epidauro w large at Ko
 nd Titane it was of cypre tree and at Epidauro
 Lamera it wa of olive tree The aced ground were
 u ually enclosed a by a hedge at Tithorea nd no build
 ing were allowed near by a wall with a formal gateway
 urrounded the *hieron* at Epidauro and at Athen the
 limit of the *temenos* were indicated by a marked tone
 In the grounds of the larger anctuarie there were
 altar mall hrine and temple of the a ociated
 deitie and heroe

The healing temples

The Greek temples were never imposing by their i e
 but they were ca ket to contain the statue of the deity
 nd the dedicated gifts of votarie ⁷⁴ They accommo
 dated only the divinity his altar and his divine gue t
 and all ritual ceremonie acrifice and gathering were
 held in the open air Con tructed of wood tucco or
 tone the templ had a portico or vestibule a cella and
 ometime an opi thodomos the image of the god and
 thoe of hi gue t a well a hi ltar being placed in
 the cella Sometimes the temples were crowded with uch
 tatue of heroes a at Athen or of the higher deitie a
 t Epidauro Near the ima_e of the god were an altar
 and a table for receiving offering and near by tood a
 couch where the god reclined during the sacrifice on
 fe tal occasions The table at Pergamon wa three legged
 with a golden image of A klepio Hygieia and Tele
 phoros respectively at each foot The table at Syracu e
 wa of gold Before the temple were placed the high
 altar or *bomoi*, oblong round or triangular the tone

⁷⁴ G rdn r op cut, p 391

on the top having a hole in the center to receive the blood of a sacrificial animal

The sanctity of the temples

The sanctuaries were holy and only the pure in spirit and the initiated were allowed to enter (Porphyrios *de Abstinentia animalium*, II 17 Clemens *op cit*, v 551) the profane and the guilty being strictly excluded. At Sikyon the temple was double and none but priests were permitted in the inner shrine which was sacred to Apollo Karneios (Pausanias II x 2). The sanctuaries were usually locked at night and the key which was also sacred was in charge of the *neokoros* (temple sweeper/verger) or at Athens of an official known as the *kleidouchos* (key holder). Occasionally the temple was closed by a lattice door which permitted a view of the interior.

The images and emblems of the god

The gods were represented both by painting and sculpture. The sanctuary at Athens was worth seeing for its paintings and the image of Asklepios and his children (ib., I xx1 4). Pliny (*op cit*, xxxv 40) mentions painting by Nikophanes in which Hygieia, Aigle and Panakeia were grouped about Asklepios. The images of the gods were of wood or wood with marble parts, terra cotta, stone or marble and occasionally of gold and ivory but were often rough and imperfectly hewn. Pausanias (VII xx1 4 IX xxiv 3) states that the early Greek worshipped unwrought stone instead of images. Asklepios was most commonly represented with a beard, seldom a young man seated on a throne or standing and holding a staff usually knotted with a serpent coiled around it and frequently with other emblems sacred to him as the dog, the cock, the vulture, the owl, the fir cone and occasionally a goat's head, or the omphalos. Some

time the erpent¹ represented a coiled about the body and lower limb.⁷ The statue at Epidaurio and Kos were colossal in size but they were usually smaller and at Kos small terra cotta images have been unearthed. In some of the older statue the god held his beard in one hand and the staff with the coiled serpent in the other. The image at Tithorea was bearded and of tone more than two feet high (*ib.*, X xxxii 12). At Sikyon the statue was beardless and of ivory and gold the work of Kalamis. In one hand he held a scepter and in the other the fir cone (*ib.* II x 3). At Phliou the image was of young and beardless man and of the archaic type (*ib.*, II xiii 5) and at Gortys the god was represented a beardless youth and in the same temple was an image of Hygieia both being by Skopa (*ib.*, VIII xxviii 1). A beautiful marble statue of the god of this type recovered from Epidaurios stands in the Vatican Museum. The sanctuaries at Ladon and Megalopoli were dedicated to the boy Asklepios and the image at Megalopoli was erect and measured about nine ell (*ib.*, VIII xxv 11 xxxii 5). At Titane the image was covered by a mantle and white wool only the face, hand and feet being visible (*ib.*, II, xi 6). The god was generally shown as wearing the pallium and occasionally the head was decked with a crown of laurel. The globe and scepter were attributes of the divinity only in the later days of the cult and were seldom used since they represented aspects which were not characteristic of him.

Auxiliary deities

Telesphoros typifying convalescence and represented as a boy or dwarf cloaked and hooded was sometime placed standing beside the erect statue of the god. The gods Hypnos and Oneiros who presided over sleep and

⁷ L. Clerc, *op. cit.*, p. 36 (d. 1729)

dream were intimately associated with the cult and their statues were found at the sanctuaries both Hypno and Oneiros being noted at Sikyon Oneiro at Lebena and Hypno at Epidauro and Athen⁷

Tents instead of buildings

Visitor to the sanctuary and priest used tent during the earlier years of the cult Tithorea being mentioned as one of the first places at which permanent structures were allowed For many years buildings were forbidden at Epidauros and tent continued in use as late as the time of Hadrian notwithstanding the elaborate edifices that were constructed from time to time the tent being limited to thirty feet in length while their use was subject to very stringent rule Long colonnaded porticoes were later provided as dormitories for the upholders of the god although many continued to prefer to sleep in the porticoes of the temple near the image of the god or close to the statue of the god of his associates whose particular favor they sought

The most famous of the Asklepieia

The most ancient shrines of Asklepios were at Trikka (which was also the most famous Strabo IX v 17 p 437 C) Orchomeno Titane and Tithorea where he was called Archagete After the settlement at Epidauron deputies established Asklepieia at various places many of which became famous healing shrines at Knidos Kos Rhodes Kyrene and Kroton where medical schools were conducted and at Corinth Phigaleia Sounion Kyllene Megalopolis Athens etc The shrine at Pergamon was popular with the people of Asia and Philostratus (*op*

⁷ U. Kohl's 'Der Südbehängte der Akropolis zu Athen nach den Aufgrabungen der archäologischen Gesellschaft' in *MAIA*, 177 n 242 not

cit, iv 34) say that the Cretan flocked to that at Lebena and thence became so famous that the Libyan crossed over to it from Africa. Epidauro however was the chief seat of the worship. Here it reached its highest development and the sanctuary was the largest and perhaps the most characteristic of all those of the cult. In the city there was a precinct of Asklepios with image in Parian marble under the open sky of the god himself and Epione who they said was his wife (Pausanias II xxix 1).

The sanctuary at Epidauros

The Asklepieion at Epidauro was located six miles inland from the city in a broad open valley between Mounts Kynortion and Tittheion in holy country as it is called on medals sacred because of the legend indicating that this was the birthplace of Asklepios. The valley was protected from the wind by the surrounding mountains which were from two to three thousand feet high and was reputed to be particularly healthful. The Asklepieion is believed to have been established not later than the sixth century B.C. (probably at the end of the seventh) and it held its vogue for upward of eight hundred years. The reverence for the god and the gratitude engendered by the benefit bestowed upon thousands of applicants provided ample means for its development on the splendid scale described by ancient writers and confirmed by modern excavation under the direction of Kavvadia in 1881-1887 and 1891-1894.⁷⁷ Illustrations based upon descriptions and the discoveries at the ruins present an array of temples, colonnaded portico buildings for sacrificial and other religious ceremonies, accommodations for visitors and official baths, gymnasiums and a library all in an ample grove within the

⁷⁷ K. v. d. *Fouilles d'Epidaure*. Athens 1893.

acred enclosure and just outside a tadium and theater The acred precinct or *hieron*, wa approached through a gateway the great *propylaea*, in the outhern wall where a ceremonial purification of suppliant wa per formed (Frazer *op cit*, iii 234 ff, v 570 ff)

The temple

The central shrine the temple of Asklepios erected on the site of n earlier sanctuary was eventy nine feet long forty two wide and forty high and cost about 1 000 000 drachma (approximately \$25 000) It was of porou stone or tufa tuccoed and tinted in tones of red and blue It wa peripteral and of the Doric order with thirty columns ix on each end and nine on each side It faced the east and approached by a ramp stood on a terrace about three feet above the level of the ground The roof wa of wood the tile of the floor were of marble and the culpture on the pediment were of the best period of Greek art that on the west end representing a battle between Amazons and the Greek that on the east end a contest with Centaurs A Winged Victory stood at the apex and the acroteria at the angles were Nereids on horseback It is estimated that the temple wa built about 375 or 380 B C, and an inscription found on the port giving details of the construction states that it took four years eight month and ten days to complete it (*ib*, iii 241) There wa an elaborate and beautiful ivory door at the main entrance above which was inscribed Within the incense filled Sanctuary one must be pure and purify himself to have righteous thought⁷ In the cella was the celebrated chryselephantine statue of Asklepios by Thrasymedes of Paros about half the size of the great Olympian Zeus and very nearly resembling it The flesh was of ivory and the rest was of

⁷ Farnell *The Evolution of Religion*, p 138

gold enamelled in color The god was seated upon throne in a manner more nonchalant than dignified of benign countenance and holding a staff in one hand while the other rested on the head of a golden serpent reaching up from the floor and a dog lay at his feet An altar stood before the statue and the floor was of slab of black marble A large, high altar twenty four feet by eighteen was placed in front of the shrine

The Thymele

Southwest of the temple stood the so called *Tholos*, or rotunda more properly the *Thymele* (place of sacrifice) a site called in an inscription found there and giving some detail of the construction (Frazer *op cit*, III 247) This was the *chef d'œuvre* of the *hierion*, famous throughout antiquity and believed to be the most beautiful circular structure erected by the Greeks It was built about the latter part of the fifth century B C by Polykleitos the Younger and since the names of twenty one priests are given as superintending its construction it is assumed that it was that many years in building The *Thymele* was 107 feet in diameter and its foundation were in six concentric rings with openings but each passage had a wall across it compelling a person to walk all around each before entering the next compartment thus making it a labyrinth There was an outside colonnade with twenty six Doric columns of common but fine grained stone The walls were of various tones covered with stucco and were tinted red and blue the base was of marble white outside and black inside the frieze was of Pentelic marble, the roof was of wood and the tiles of marble The inner colonnade was of marble with fourteen Corinthian columns said to have been the most graceful ever conceived and the pavement was of marble in diamond shaped slabs alternately white and black No

lab has been found for the central opening which it is assumed was used for sacrifices and for descent into the labyrinth. On the walls were two paintings: one representing Methe (Drunkennes) drinking from a crystal goblet of such marvellous transparency that her face was seen through it, and the other portrayed Eros in the act of laying down his bow and taking up the lyre masterpiece by Pausanias (Pausanias II xxvii 3). The purpose of the building has given rise to much discussion. It has been suggested that it covered the sacred well, but no evidence of a conduit has been found, while another hypothesis is that it was the home of the sacred serpent which were bred, sacrificed to, and kept in the labyrinth until needed in the ritual or for the tablinment of other sanctuaries. The name *Thymele* and the statement that it contained *hymenaios* imply that the building was designed for ceremonial sacrifices of some description possibly in connection with the mysteries of the cult of which practically nothing is known.

Auxiliary temples

Within the *hieron* were several smaller and less elaborate though beautiful temples dedicated to Artemis, Hekate, Aphrodite, and Themis, and the records indicate that there were shrines and chapels to Helios, Selene, Epione, Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Athena, Leto, Akele, the Eleusinian goddesses Demeter and Persephone, and others. The temple of Artemis, Hekate had a row of marble columns outside which stood a statue of the goddess. Her emblem, the dog, was used for decoration, and the head of dog were sculptured on the cornice, while at the angles of the western end were Winged Victories as acroteria. Near the Doric temple of Aphrodite a beautiful marble statue of the goddess was found. A Roman senator named Antoninus, probably the same as the Emperor

Antoninus Pius (Pausanias II, xxvii 5 6 Frazer *op cit*, iii 257) erected several buildings: a bath to Asklepios a sanctuary to the Bountiful gods (auxiliaries such as Hypnos Oneiros and Telephos) and temple to Hygieia Asklepios and Apollo the latter two being under the surname Egyptian (or Imhotep the god of healing)

The dormitory

The dormitory (*abaton* or *egkōmeterion*) was portico open to the south with a double row of columns of the Ionic order thirty six in all. It was 246 feet long by thirty one feet wide and at the western end was a basement connected with the main floor by a stairway. Near the middle a wall divided the portico into two parts: one for men, the other for women. The inside walls were decorated in color and by inscription. Pausanias (II xxvii 3) describes six tablets on which were carved accounts of cures made by Apollo and Asklepios. Fragments of two of these have been found in the excavation. The *abaton* was furnished with tables, lamps and about 120 pallets.

Other buildings within the hieron

Near the temple of Asklepios was a large square building with an open court and although it has not been determined the discovery there of a hearth and the bones of sacrificial animals has led to the view that it was for sacrifices and sacrificial banquets. Pausanias says that all sacrifices were completely burned within the *hieron*, whence this building may have been used for that purpose or it may have been a house for priests. The building dates apparently from the fifth or sixth century B.C. and was decorated with statues and inscriptions. Within the *hieron* were several quadrangular porticoed buildings.

ing the purpose of which is not entirely clear although they may have been for the accommodation of visitors and for protection in inclement weather or for the priest while some may have been used as dormitories. One of the of the Colonnade of Kotys was restored by the Roman senator Antoninus. There were two gymnasium within the *hieron*, and they probably occupied such building. In the interior angle of one of the of quadrangular structure nine rows of semicircular seats were found this place being supposed to have been an *oderon*, or music hall or for witnessing athletic sport. Adjacent to the large *abaton* was a building containing bath and supposed to have covered the sacred spring especially as during the excavation to the east of the *abaton*, a well was found 144 feet in depth. The library dedicated to Apollo Maleate and Asklepio which has never been definitely located is assumed to have been in this structure. Near this was a building of late construction the Roman bath and at right angles to it was another colonnade, or *stoa*, before which was an open aqueduct with basin. Lastly, situated somewhat apart from the general group there was a large quadrangular building 270 feet square with four quadrangle and many rooms which is supposed to have been a hospital or a home for the priest.

Stadium and theater

Outside the *hieron* to the west was the stadium, 600 feet long with fifteen rows of marble seats on the north and south end seating from twelve to fourteen thousand persons and on the slope of Mount Kynortion south-west of the *hieron*, was the theater of Dionysos constructed by Polykleitos the Younger in the fifth century B.C. It was described by Pausanias (II xxvii 5) as the next in size to that of Megalopolis (which was the large

in Greece) and of the most beautiful proportions the statements being confirmed by the ruin which are still in an unusually good state of preservation. The acoustics were perfect and it is said that today a voice from the stage a little above a whisper may be heard in all parts of the auditorium. This open air theater consisted of a semicircle of seats fifty five rows in all divided in two sections an upper and a lower with thirteen stairway in the lower and twenty six in the upper section. The seating capacity was about nine thousand. The chorus place was circular and the stage rose twelve feet above it while the proscenium was richly decorated with sculpture. The seats were placed on the incline of the mountain the top row being seventy four feet above the orchestra and gave a commanding view of the valley the *hieron*, and the surrounding mountains. On the top of Mount Kynortion overlooking the *hieron* stood the temple of Apollo Maleate from which point of vantage the supreme divine healer gave his sanction to the benevolent activities of his son Asklepios. In this temple was a fine statue of the god.

The grounds

Aristotle and other writers testify to the general attractiveness of the *hieron* and the air of sanctity which pervaded it. The large grove was artistically arranged with walk and semicircular seat or exedra under the trees and was adorned with statues of friendly deities and heroes bust and monument to famous physician and tablets and tablets reciting cures effected and gifts from former patients. Special efforts were made to preserve an atmosphere of hope and cheerfulness and to remove as far as possible evidences of suffering and sorrow. Birth and deaths decorated the holy precinct and those threatened with either were ejected from the

heron, whence in the second century A D, Antoninu provided a building outside the peribolo for the unfortunate (Pausania II xxvii 6)

The present ruins

The present ruin of this great sanctuary merely outlines and suggests its former greatness. In 86 B C Sulla robbed it of its treasure and shortly afterward it was pillaged by Cician pirates. In the second century A D it was reconstructed and regained a large measure of its former splendor but toward the end of the fourth century when paganism was suppressed the worship of Asklepios was suspended. In A D 396 Epidauro was sacked by the Goths under Alaric I the library was burned and the temples were destroyed, and the materials were utilized for the construction of Christian churches. The earthquake of A D 552 completed its ruin.

The Asklepeion at Athens

In the hope of checking a pestilence that was raging the Athenians invited Asklepios to their city about 420 B C, and he was affiliated with Amynos or Alkon, a earlier healing hero of Athens and was first worshipped at his *temenos* on the west slope of the Akropolis while another shrine was being made ready.⁷ An inscription (CIA II 1649) gives a lengthy account of bringing the god from the Peloponnese and the establishment of the Asklepeion on the south slope of the Akropolis. Sophokles, a former priest of Amynos was largely instrumental in bringing the god to Athens and on his arrival entertained him at his house. Hygieia is said by some to have come from Epidauro with the deity though other

⁷ A. Kort, Birkbeck in Hilgott in *MAIA*, 183 viii 37
1 311

Wilton, *op cit*, pp 230. Also Thomsen in *ERE* vi, 655

deny this asserting that he joined the divinity some fifty years later. The Asklepieion was known as the sanctuary of Asklepios in the city to distinguish it from that located at Peiræus (Frazer *op cit* II 237). The general character of the *hieron* was essentially the same as that at Epidaurus. There was a temple to Asklepios and Hygieia and possibly an older one near by (CIA II 1 addend 489 b) a holy well was sunk in an excavation of the rock and connected with the *abaton* and there was a fountain sacred to Asklepios and Hygieia as well as a temple and shrine of friendly deities Themis Isis and Sarapi Demeter and Persephone Herakles Hypnos Panakeia and others.¹

The Asklepieion at Kos

The Asklepieion at Kos the cradle of later medical science in Europe was on an island on the Dorian coast (Strabo XIV, II 19 p 657 C), two miles inland and about 320 feet above the level of the sea. The buildings were distributed on three terraces of the northern slope of the mountain which afforded a commanding view of the rich fertile valley below. On the highest terrace was a rather large peripteral temple to the god on three sides of which was an extensive porticoed *abaton*, on the next were sanctuaries and shrines of other deities the sacred spring altars and a *stoa* (apparently designed for an *abaton*) and on the lowest were the *propylæa* and porticoed buildings with many rooms which it has been assumed were used for consultations and treatment. According to tradition this Asklepieion was established by a commission of priests sent from Epidaurus (Herodotus

¹ Girard *L'Asclépieion d'Athènes d'après les récentes découvertes*, 181, xxiii

S Reinach, *La fouille de Cos* in *RA*, 4 1904, III 127-131

vii 99) The anctuary was destroyed by an earthquake believed to be of A D 554

The Asklepieion at Pergamon

The Asklepieion at Pergamon was established in the third century B C by a delegation from Epidauros at an exceptionally attractive spot on the coast of Asia Minor Tradition has it that the worship of Asklepios was introduced here by one Archias who had been healed in Epidauria of a strained limb, injured while hunting on Pindos (Pausanias II, xxvi 8) or, as it is asserted of convulsions During the Imperial period of Rome this anctuary became exceedingly popular and rivalled if it did not surpass the Epidauro of that age

Administration of the Asklepieia, the Hieres

Miss Walton⁴ gives a list of upward of three hundred Asklepieia in Greece and its dependencies not including Magna Graecia but of the great majority of the very little is known The larger shrines were administered by chief priests or hierophants The Hieres or chief priest had general charge of the sanctuary He directed the order of the day conducted the rituals and sacrifice supervised the work of the assistant priests and minor officials, and presided over the ceremonies of the festivals Having control of the buildings and of the entire property of the *hieron*, he was responsible for all receipts gift and contribution and at the end of his term of office, usually one year he made a full report to the Council or governing body with an inventory of property for his successor If the report was satisfactory, he received a vote of praise and the decree was recorded and

For history of Kos, see Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Kos*, pp ix, xlviii

⁴ *Op cit*, pp 5 ff

ometime he wa voted a crown or other gift The admin
 1 tration of the Asklepieion at Athen wa taken over by
 the State during the fourth century B C , and the cult wa
 placed under the control of the Council or Boule The
 office of chief prie t wa one of uch dignity that a t
 wa re erved for him in the theater of Diony o (*CIA*
 III 287) and both at Athens and at Epidauros the Hie
 reus was selected by lot by the Boule At Hyettos the wor
 ship wa imilarly admini tered by the Sacred Senate or
 Council of Elder (*CIGGS* I 2808 Fra er *op cit* , v
 133) but an in cription from Chalkedon in Bithynia indi
 cate that the office there wa open for purcha e at a
 price of 5 000 drachmas Relying apparently on the
 customs prevailing at Athen Epidauro and po ibly
 ome other large sanctuarie modern author have been
 inclined to assume that physicians eldom performed
 priestly function at the Asklepieia but although the
 pecific mention of their holding uch office m y be rare
 it would appear a tr nge restriction to withhold acer
 dot l dutie from the Asklepiadae whose relation to
 the cult were hereditary and intimate and it i doubtful
 whether uch a rule held generally in other citie and
 town In the primitive day of the cult the office of the
 priest i believed to have been hereditary and a prerog
 tive of the clan of Asklepiadae following the gener l cu
 tom of family and tribal worship in which father and
 on took the principal part or in which if there was a
 king he held the office of priest Under the e condition
 a priest tenure would be for life Several in tance of
 phy ician prie t are definitely known a in the ca e of
 Kalliphon the father of Demokedes who was a heredi
 tary Asklepiad and a phy ician prie t t Knido At Ko
 the election wa made by lot or by or cle for one ye r

Walton *op cit* , p 50

Thrm r in *P uly Wt ow* , II, 1685

but the position was the prerogative of the *Aklepiadae*. It is stated in one inscription that Soarchos priest at Lebena in Crete whose father had preceded him had already served for forty seven years⁷ and the office was hereditary at Mitylene, as it was at Pergamon to a late day. The priests often lived within the *hieron* and had certain perquisites.

Assistant priests

Next to the hierophant the most important official was a priest called the *neokoros* or as at Athens the *zakoros*. At Athens where the office of *zakoros* was important he was chosen for one year and was often re-elected while inscriptions indicate that he was occasionally a physician (*CIA III* 1 780 addenda 780 a b c). At Kos and Epidaurus the *neokoros* held office for life and at Kos Stratonikeia in Karia and Thera there were other priests with a similar tenure. The *zakoros* or *neokoros*, representing the chief priest often conducted the sacrifice and other ceremonies besides receiving the patient and recording their name and homes and directing their care by the attendants. He usually had immediate charge of the gift and property of the *hieron*, though occasionally a peculiar officer the *hieromnemon*, was appointed for this duty. At Kos the *neokoros* interpreted the dream and omen and offered prayer for the suppliant. At Pergamon there were two who were active in all religious exercises and interpreted dreams but at Epidaurus there was only one and he served for all the temple within the *hieron*. At Athens where the ritual was elaborate there were several officials who were named for minor duties. A *propolos*, who is mentioned by Aristophanes (*Plutus*, 660) held an office close to the

⁷ Walton *op cit*, p. 49

prie t extingui hed the lights in the *abaton*, and told the patient to leep The altar fires were lighted and cared for by the *pyrophoroi*, though thi duty was sometime performed by boys who were also incense bearer or members of the choir There were furthermore the *klei douchos*, or key keeper an office frequently a igned to the son of the priest the *dadouchoi*, or torch bearers the *kanephoroi*, or basket bearers the *arrhephoroi*, or carrier of the holy relic and my terie and prieste se nd nurse all of whom took part in the religiou ceremonies and fe tival processions In addition there were a large number of assi tant who were attendant upon the sick and had variou duties in the *hieron*

The Asklepiadae The Hippocratic oath

Around the cult of Asklepios gathered a large and exclu ive class known a A klepiadae, or priest phy ician originally the family of Asklepio their descend ant nd tho e who had been adopted by the clan Plato remark (*op cit*, X iii) that the di ciple left by A kle pio were hi own de cend nt They claimed that their knowledge of healing wa hereditary from the god him elf and that they had imbibed it from earlie t childhood in the family circle According to Galen (*de Anatomicis administratombus*, bk ii ch 1) the origin of medicine wa hereditary in the family and Ari teide (quoted by Philostrato *op cit*, iii 44) declares that for a long time healing had been considered an attribute of the A kle piadae Their law was that sacred things may be revealed only to the elect and hould be confided to the profane only when they have been initiated in the my teries of the science All were therefore obliged to take a sacred oath which was finally developed as the Oath

Kuhn ed *Medicorum Græcorum Opera*, ii 281

Spiengel, *Histoire de a médecine*, i 169

of Hippokrate ° that they would not profane the secret entrusted to them and would divulge them only to their children and those of their masters or to persons who had taken the same oath A physician says of his work

The sacred and mysterious vow restrains me I am

° "I swear by Apollo the physician and Æsculapius, and Health and All Heal, and all the gods and goddesses that according to my ability and judgment, I will keep this Oath and this stipulation that I know him who taught this Art qually dear to my parent to honor my utility with him and relieve his necessities if required to look upon his offspring in the same footing as my own brother and to help them in their distress if they shall wish to learn it without fee or stipulation and that by precept lecture and every other method of instruction I will impart knowledge of the Art to my own sons and those of my teachers and to disciples bound by stipulation and oath according to the law of medicine but to none other I will follow the duty of regimen which, according to my ability and judgment I consider for the benefit of my patient and abstain from whatever is dishonouring and unbecoming I will give good medicine to anyone if asked and refuse to give to anyone who asks for abortion With purity and with holiness I will practise my Art I will not cut for or laboring under the stone but will leave this to be done by men who are practitioners of this work Into whatever house I enter I will go in to them for the benefit of the sick and will abstain from every voluntary act of mischief or corruption and further from the seduction of females or the seduction of free men and slaves Whatever in connection with my profession I practise or omit in connection with it I abstain from the life of men who have ought to be spoken of abroad I will not divulge the secrets that I have heard should be kept secret While I continue to keep this Oath unviolated, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and the practice of the art respected by all men, in all times But should I trespass and violate this Oath may my right hand be cut off" (Adams, *op cit*, n 278-280)

Note Foramil Hindu oath R Roth 'Indische Medizin Charak' in *ZDMG*, 1872, xxvi 445 ff also G A Laitrd, 'Lehrbuch der Charak' in *BAM* 3 'r 1897 xvii 55 ff J n 'The Doctor' Oth pp 58-59

obliged to preserve silence.¹ The Asklepiadaí were leader in the cult and probably were very influential in creating the atmosphere best adapted to keep the mind of the suppliant in a frame to trust implicitly in the mysterious powers of the god and in the divine directions received by dreams and vision. Mutilated record found in Athens indicate that there was another religious order known as the Asklepiastai which it is assumed was related to the cult (*CIA* II, 1, addenda, 617 b). In the early traditions of Greek medicine lay physicians having no connection with the cult appear among the people many of whom claimed descent from the god and all being included under the general term Asklepiadaí they became confused in early history with the priest physicians. With the lapse of time secrecy became relaxed, the knowledge of the healing art was acquired by those who did not observe the Oath, and eventually many charlatans engaged in the practice and brought discredit upon the cult upon both priest and lay physicians.

The cult rituals

In the early period appeals were apparently made to Asklepios for any purpose but as he became famous in healing beyond all other heroes especially after his alliance with Apollo cultic practices were restricted to effecting cures although a few records from Athen Sikyon and Epidauros indicate occasional consultation on other affairs. The customs in healing are known to have differed somewhat at the many Asklepieia yet it is believed that at all of them the religious element outweighed the practical although the latter became more

¹ Sprengel *op cit*, 1 170

Dar mberg, *op cit*, pp 56 ff. also Houdart *Histoire de l'éducation grecque depuis Eschyle jusqu'à Hippocrate exclusive*, pp 95 ff

prominent after the Roman conquest. Our present knowledge of temple procedure has been gathered from many sources from tradition allusions by classical writers inscription and bas relief and ex votos found in excavation at Athen Epidaurus and Kos. It is asserted that at some shrine the ritual summed up the whole procedure while at others the priests performed their religious function and then placed the suppliant in the care of assistants, who carried out the treatment according to direction received by dream and vision but however effected the god alone received all the credit for the cure. The treatment at the larger sanctuaries such as those just mentioned and probably also at Knidos Rhodes Pergamon Smyrna and Kyrene belonged to the latter class. In estimating the value of the evidence furnished by the relief found at the old shrine it must be remembered that they were offered in gratitude for favor received and as testimony of the power of the god rather than as record of the method of healing and that they should not be relied on as giving any indication of the practical therapeutic used however effective the same may have been. The general attitude is probably well expressed in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* (*de Decoro*)

As regards disease and their symptom medicine in the greater number of cases incline to do honor to the god. Physicians bow before them for medicine has no superabundance of power.⁴

The procedures at the Asklepieia

Tales of the marvellous cure effected at the Asklepieia had spread the fame of the deity throughout Greece and being matters of common knowledge the sick in going to these sanctuaries for relief, were probably

Hippocrate, *op cit*, 1, 23

⁴ Dirlh *Excursion in Greece*, p 347

already imbued with a certain religious fervor while their imagination was excited by the hope that they also might be the recipients of the divine grace. Only the pure were permitted to approach the god and on entering the *hieron* all were obliged to undergo a ceremonial purification (Pausanias V xiii 3) this usually consisting of a cold bath or sometime a salt or sea bath which was occasionally repeated (Euripides *Iph in Taur*, 1193) or the burning of incense and fumigation. The suppliant were then instructed to make oblation to the god and heroes whose favor they sought. For the poor the offering were mostly thin flat, perforated cake (*popana*) sweetened with honey or dipped in oil while for those better able the propitiatory sacrifice was an animal a pig a goat a lamb a heep or a cock. Sokrates saying that the cock was an appropriate offering to Asklepios (Plato *Phædo*, 155). At Epidauro the sacrifice of goat was forbidden (Pausanias II xxvi 9) and at Tithorea any animal was acceptable except the goat (*ib*, X xxxii 12) but at Athens and Kyrene there was no such restriction. Animals were burned on the altar and the priest usually had a share of the sacrifice. At one shrine the legs of the fowl were their portion but at Epidauro and Titane no part of the offering might be removed and all was consumed within the *hieron*. The serpent as the incarnation or embodiment of the god were fed and sacrificed to at Athens. Kos and Titane it was considered essential to feed them before benefit could be received but at Titane they were feared and food was simply left for them (*ib*, II xi 8). It was impossible to approach the god without diverting the attention of the serpent honey cake being favored for this purpose. Perseus remaining in the *hieron* any length of time

repeated the sacrifice at interval and were prompted to do so in dream. Several bas-reliefs found in the ruin of the sanctuaries illustrate cultic usage. They show the god standing or seated with Hygieia or other members of his family and a serpent beside him while a train of suppliants approach each bearing some offering which was to be placed on a table standing near by. Sacrifices were accompanied by music and fervent prayer for a revelation but once no offering were made without prayer and as the suppliant often forgot the name of the deities the priest chanted them while the person making the sacrifice repeated them in a loud voice (Lucian *Demosthenes encomium*, 27).⁷ The prayers were called chant and some of them were said to have been composed by Sophokles and Iodemos of Troezen (ibid.) (but they sang a song resembling the paean of Sophokles which they sing at Athens in honor of Asklepios Philostratus *op. cit.*, III 17).

The ritual of the individual

A rigorous diet or fasting was very commonly ordered as a preparation for incubation and treatment and Galen states that sometime under the direction of the priest the suppliants would not take wine for fifteen days. Aristides (*Orat. sacr.* 1) speaks of the depressing effect of repeated fasting and bathing saying that they kept the mind in such a state of tension as frequently to weaken the faculties and graphically give detail of treatment directed. At Pergamon wine was forbidden as Philostratus explains (*op. cit.*, I 8) in order that the ether of

Holland *op. cit.*, pp. 105 ff.

⁷ C. J. Cobitt *ibid.* p. 374 Leipzig 1872.

L. Cleire *op. cit.*, p. 60. Also Guthrie *op. cit.*, p. 26.

For summary of the remarks of Aristides on the method pursued in the Asklepeion. H. Milson *op. cit.*, pp. 44-2.

the soul should not be oiled by liquor. The patient was conducted through the *hieron* by attendant who related the legend of the cult and explained the remarkable cures recorded on the tele and tablet and attested by ex voto. The rite and ceremonies being usually interpreted often in mystic terms. The temple of the god and the shrines of his associates were visited and the tablet and mystic symbol that covered the wall were examined. Then the patient being properly prepared it was permissible for him to approach the image of the god, offer sacrifice with prayer and allow the deity to come into contact with the hand or other part of the statue. An air of sanctity pervaded the *hieron*, and the sick could not fail to be deeply impressed by the majesty of the deity and by all that they heard and saw suggestive of the supernatural power with which he was endowed. So that with imagination fired by the marvel of the sanctuary they awaited the mysterious event of the night.

Incubation

As the evening approached preparations were made in the dormitory or *abaton*. The patient dressed in white (which was supposed to induce dream) brought bedding and usually some food and was assigned a pallet in the portico or if he was too ill to sleep there himself a relative or friend incubated for him. As darkness came on the lamps were lighted and the *neokoros* with his assistant also in white entered. The suppliant placed some offering upon one of the small altars and retired to his couch. The *neokoros* collected the offering and the priest finally offered a prayer perhaps such as one is that composed by Aristeides.¹⁰

O ye children of Apollo who in time past have tilled the

¹⁰ Pater *Morus the Epicure*, 1, 39

wave of sorrow for many people lighting up lamp of safety before those who travel by sea and land be pleased in your great condescension though ye be equal in glory with your elder brethren the Dio kouroi and your lot in immortal youth be theirs to accept this prayer which in sleep and vision ye have inspired Order it right I pray you according to your loving kindness to men Preserve me from sickness and induce my body with such measure of health as may suffice it for the obaying of the spirit that I may pass my day unhindered and in quietude

After the prayer silence was enjoined and the patients were directed to be frightened at nothing not to whisper and to go to sleep The lamp were extinguished and the priest departed all those sleeping in the *abaton* remaining the whole night It was customary for the priest and attendant to return to the *abaton* at some time during the night generally toward morning one of them being in the costume of the god carrying his attribute and Philostratus states (*op cit*, 17) that in the temple at Aigai the god appeared to men They were accompanied by one or more of the retinue of the god dressed as Hygieia Panakeia Iaso or Akeoi his serpent and possibly by sacred dog They carried jar of ointment and other remedies and passing among the sleeper, made application to diseased part or directed the attention of the serpent or dog which was highly prized the serpent creeping over the sleeper and being supposed to whisper the remedy into the ear and some time to pinch it^{1 1} Occasionally the priest in the guise of the god would speak with the patient ask concerning the ailment perhaps touch or lay a hand on the diseased part¹ apply some remedy or give advice and leave directions for future treatment Aristophanes (*op cit*, 632 ff)

^{1 1} *Frynliet, m 10*

¹⁰ *Wimmer op cit, pp 1 ff*

describes such a scene in the shrine at Athen. The tale and the impression of the preceding day had prepared the mind for the prophetic vision or dream and it was apt to come to those who expected it.¹⁰

The mental impressions

The experience of the night acting on an overheated imagination the assumed appearance of the deity possibly in the form of a serpent and the application of the hand of the god all in the dim light while in a state midway between sleeping and waking were readily interpreted as a divine visitation a celestial dream or vision. It was the realization of a divine oracle given in dreams or of the oracle of the soul itself in dreaming since it was generally held that in natural dream the soul reveals what will benefit the body.¹⁴ The Hippocratic writing shows a qualified belief in the power of the soul in the prophetic nature of dream and in the conviction that the god should be invoked.

For dream with good omen pray to the Sun to Celestial Zeus (*Di Uranos*) to enriching Zeus (*Di Ktesios*) to enrich Athen. Herm and Apollo for bad dream pray to the potter gods, to Gaia and to the Heroes that all the evil may beverted (*de Insom*, IV 89).¹

In the morning the dream and vision of the night were told and interpreted by the priest who then gave

¹ For next day consideration of nocturnal incubation is referred to 'magnetic' (hypnotic) and onion bulb, Guthrie, *op cit*, pp 133 ff and for the more modern view of the subject and suggestive therapeutics the work of Breuer and Breuer, *Br h im* Moll, Breuer and Tuckey, *litt d u d r G n r l Bibliogr r phy*.

¹⁰ Thucydides in *ERE* vi, 543

¹⁴ Garrión in *PCC* v 45 *l o Litt'r', Œvre complète d'Hippocrate*, vi 652

appropriate directions for any treatment that should be carried out. Some claimed to be healed and the priest announced a cure to others with authority while the fortunate were congratulated and the cures were celebrated with shouts of joy and the singing of pæans in praise of Apollo Aklepio and the associated deities. Those who had not received the divine communication remained in the *hieron*, made further sacrifice and repeated the incubation but cases proving intractable were blamed for impiety for lack of purity or merit and they were often advised to go elsewhere. If an invalid died it was through lack of confidence or because of disobedience. It appears that all were kindly treated except those who were dying or expecting child birth but the *hebe*, a polluting the sanctuary, were cast out and obliged to shift for themselves. The god had rejected them and no one belonging to the *hieron* would give them aid.

Practical therapeutics

Turning to the material methods used for cures Plato (*Protagoras*, 107) names four that were employed by physicians of his day: burning, cutting, physic and tanning while Demosthenes (*Orationes*, iv 80) in his speech on Aristogeiton mentions burning and cutting. Illustration of surgical instrument on bas-relief from the wall of temple or *abata* give positive proof that surgery was practiced in the sanctuaries of Aklepio. These evidences come mainly from Epidauros and Kos and it is believed that little surgery was done at Athens. The subjects for surgery were held by attendants and the blood found later upon the floor was believed to attest the operation. Surgeons and their assistants do not appear to have belonged to the priestly class though they were called sons of the god and were probably Askle-

piad Pindar (*op cit*, iii 47 53) refer to the use of magic internal remedie and surgery by the god

Each of his several bane he cured
 This felt the charm enchanting sound
 That drank the elixir soothing cup
 Some with oft hind in heltering band he bound
 Or plied the searching steel and bade the lame leap up

Data recorded in literature and in many inscription that have been found clearly indicate that the more practical therapeutic of the temple made use of external application of lotion and ointments exercise bath followed by friction and other manipulation diet and often a general hygienic regimen Asklepios has been called the father of health gymnastics It is stated that at Pergamon the xyster, or rough brush, was invented for rubbing after the bath (Martial xiv 51) Religious healing practice raised two important hygienic measures cleaning the body and moderation in eating and drinking to divine command¹ In addition to the above measure there are many suggestions in the method associated with incubation closely imitating what are now known as hypnotism and suggestion while numerous internal remedies presumably made from herb and root were combined in administration with incantation and magic formula

The use of animals in the cult Serpents

Both serpent and dogs were used in the Asklepeian cultic practice a minister of healing usually by the use of the tongue but it is asserted that the disciples of Asklepios sometimes recommended that the flesh of the sacred dog be given to patients as medicine (Frazer *op cit*, iii 65 250 251) The serpent was the emblem of

¹ Uffelman, *op cit*, p 41

life and healing and was used in the cult as a ritualistic symbol being sacred and revered as the incarnation of the god. This is illustrated on a coin from Pergamon struck during the reign of Caracalla on the reverse side of which the Emperor is shown in military dress slaying the reptile with his right hand while Telesphoros stands close by.¹⁰⁷ Pauania (II xxviii 1) says the serpent and another sort of a yellowish hue are considered sacred to Asklepios and are tame and they breed nowhere but in Epidauri but they are also described (Aelian *op cit*, viii 12) as reddish brown fiery or tawny in color sharply lighted with a broad mouth and called *pareiai*, or puffy cheeked. Their bite was not venomous and for this reason they were consecrated to the best of gods and dedicated to his service. It was this latter species that was kept at Athenai and mentioned by Aristophanes (*op cit*, 728 ff). The serpents were called by Linnæus the *coluber Æsculapi* Nikandro (*Theriac*, 438) describe still another variety found near Mount Pelion in Thessaly and called at Trikke this being of a blackish color with a green belly, three rows of teeth a bunch of hair over the eye and a yellowish beard whose bite was not dangerous. It was called by Linnæus the *coluber cerastes*.

Serpent legends

It is stated that women resorting to the shrines of Asklepios in the hope of being relieved of sterility and of bearing children slept in the temple where they were visited in their dream by a serpent as the embodiment of the deity, the children born afterward being believed to have been begotten by the snake god.¹ At Sikyon it was said that Aristodama had slept in the temple and

¹⁰⁷ Walton *op cit*, pp 13-14

¹ Fraser *Adam, Eve, Ovis*, 100 ff, 90

that Asklepios was the father of her on Arato (Pausanias II x 3) The Messemians thought that the birth of the hero Aristomenes was out of the common for the mother they said had been visited by a daimon or a god in the likeness of a serpent (*ib.*, IV xiv 7) Similar instances of a male parentage by a serpent are related in several tradition of ancient time (Suetonius, *Vita Augustæ*, 94 Dion Cassius XLV 1 2)

Dogs

Pausanias (II xxvi 4 xxvii 2) refer to dogs in connection with Asklepios and tablets found by Kavvadia at Epidauros give evidence of cure by the sacred animal.¹ Dogs were kept in the Asklepieion in Crete and in Athens Peiraieus Epidauros and Cyprus.¹¹ Dogs guarded the sacred treasure at Athen (CIA II iii 1651 Aihano *op cit*, vii 13) and a dog represented a gift with Machaon Podaleirios and Asklepios on a bas-relief from that city.¹¹ Coins of Magnesia in Thessaly show the dog by the side of Asklepios and they are occasionally seen at the feet of the deity in statues.¹¹¹ When Asklepios went to Athen he took certain dogs with him, and once they partook of his sanctity¹¹ the Athenians offered sacrificial cakes both to the god and his dogs (CIA II iii 1651)

Tablets relating cures

Part of the tablets mentioned by Pausanias (II xxvii 3) and Strabo (VIII vi 15 p 374 C) were found by Kavvadia and have been pieced together. One of the

¹ *Op cit*, pp 23 32

¹¹ See Reinhold's *Lehrbuch der griechischen Religionsgeschichte*, p 374 C

¹¹¹ *Wittenberg op cit*, p 32

¹¹ Prott Ziehen, *Lege Græcorum crætitus co ect*, no 1

1 ix feet high two and a half feet wide and seven inches thick and 1 of fine grained lithographic tone with the face carefully smoothed The inscription (*CIG* iv 951 f)¹¹ consist of 126 lines in the Doric dialect of Argoli and the form of the letter as well as the simplicity of the language indicate that it was carved not later than the third century B.C. The tablet begins

God [be with u] Good Fortune [attend]
Cure performed by Apollo and Asklepios

A few of these testimonials of healing by the gods are briefly as follows

Kleio who had been pregnant five years slept in the *abaton*, where she was visited by the god in her dream immediately after leaving the sacred precinct she was delivered of a boy who of his own accord washed himself in the fountain and walked about with his mother On her offering she inscribed the verse

Not that the size of my tablet wonder but more that the marvel
Kleio for five long years was bearing the weight of her burden
Till in the temple she left whence a mother had went

Ithmonika of Pallana desiring offspring left in the temple where she saw a vision in which she seemed to ask the god that he might conceive a daughter the reply of Asklepios being that he would become pregnant and that if there was any further request it would be granted She said there was nothing more but since he had not asked to be delivered after three years he returned and during her sleep had a vision in which the god inquired if she had not become pregnant She answered that she had but that she had not been delivered whereupon the

¹¹ Convincingly dated with full comment by J. B. Vignault in *SGAS*, 18 6 1 120 130 So of the sure are taken from similar inscription in 134 lines (*ib.*, pp 131 144) See also H. Iton *op cit*, pp 17 27

divinity reminded her that she had not made that request yet that the alms would be granted and going out of the sacred precinct he at once gave birth to a girl

A man with paralyzed finger came to the god a suppliant, but was incredulous and mocked at the inscriptions He slept and saw a vision dreaming that as he was playing dice under the temple the god stepped on his finger and stretched them out After that he could bend and straighten them and the divinity asked him if he was still incredulous He replied No whereupon the deity said that if he should trust in the future he would be another believer At daybreak he awoke cured

Ambrosia of Athenaeum was a suppliant because he was one-eyed [[?] having anchyloblepharon] but she also ridiculed the cure as impossible Nevertheless she slept in the *abaton*, where he had a vision in which the god stood beside her and said he would cure her but that he must consecrate a silver pig to the sanctuary for her ignorance Splitting open her diseased eyelid he poured in a lotion and he left the temple whole

A lad who was mute had gone through the customary rites and was standing by his father when the attendant asked if he would promise to offer the proper sacrifice to the god within a year if he gained the object of his coming The boy suddenly exclaimed I promise repeating the word at the bidding of his astonished father and he was cured from that time

Pandarus a Thesalian who had marks on his brow slept in the dormitory and had a vision in which the god seemed to tie a fillet on his brow bidding him take it off when he was out of the *abaton* In the morning he did this and his face was clean but the fillet which he consecrated to the temple bore the mark

Echedoros a friend of Pandarus had a similar mark and wishing to try the same treatment he went to the

temple a suppliant taking with him an offering which Pandaros lent to the god. As he slept he had a vision in which the god seemed to command him to deposit in the sanctuary any money which he had received from Pandaros but he declared that none had been given him though he promised to contribute a picture to the temple if he was cured. The god then bound the fillet of Pandaros on his brow but when he took it off in the morning and was about to wash he saw by the reflection in the water that in addition to his own the mark of Pandaros had been transferred from the fillet to his forehead.

Asclepias broke the drinking cup of his master but saved the piece and since it was highly valued the god whose power he had doubted made it whole. A man whose child was lost applied to the deity who directed him where it might be found. A man had hidden a lance head in his jaw for six years but while he practiced incubation the divinity drew it out and placed it in his hand where he found it in the morning. A man from Thrace had wallowed some leeches. During his sleep in the *abaton* it seemed that the god appeared and cutting open his breast removed them sewing up the wound. In the morning he left the sanctuary with the leeches in his hand.

While suppliant slept on a bench outside the *abaton*, a serpent came from the temple and licked the ulcer on his toe but when he awoke cured he declared that he had dreamed that the deity in the form of a beautiful boy had applied an ointment.

Nikaiboula incubated in the temple seeing a vision in which it seemed that the divinity carried a great serpent to her and that she had intercourse with it. Afterward she bore two boys within a year.

Errippa who was suffering from her stomach and burning with fever incubated and saw a vision in which he dreamed that the god rubbed her stomach and kissed her.

and then gave her a vial bidding her to drink the content and vomit. Her mouth was filled with the evil which she vomited and she was well.

A man having an ulcer incubated and had a vision in which the divinity seemed to order the attendant accompanying him to seize and hold him so that he might cut his belly. He dreamed that he ran away but they seized him and tied him to the door knocker after which Asklepios split open his abdomen, cut out the ulcer, sewed up the wound and released him from his bond. He went away whole but the ground in the *abaton* was covered with blood.

Arctagoras of Troezen had a worm in her intestine and slept in the local Asklepeion where she had a vision in which the sons of the god seemed to cut off her head during the absence of the god at Epidauron but unable to replace it they sent for Asklepios who came from Epidauron the next night put the head back and then cut out the worm in the proper manner.¹¹

Pausanias (X xxxviii 13) relates the case of Phyllos who built a temple to Asklepios at Nupakto. He was nearly blind and the god sent the poet Anyte to him with a sealed tablet which he was bidden to read. It seemed impossible but hoping for benefit he broke the seal and looking at the tablet he was made whole whereupon he gave Anyte what was written on the tablet namely two thousand and gold staters (about \$9,500).

The sanctuary tales although designed only in laudation give intimation of various practical measures used by the cult but no inscription of some five hundred years later probably during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

¹¹⁴ Aelian (*op. cit.*, IX 33) reports that the author of the *Happy of Rhigio* (fifth century B.C.) except that Arctagoras is thought to have come from Methun and to have sought relief at Epidauron (see also Fraser *Paus.* III 24).

more circumstantial and I believed to illustrate the advance toward more rational therapeutics. This text set up by a Karian sophist Apellas at Epidauro in the second half of the second century AD (*CIG* IV, 955) runs as follows ¹¹

In the priesthood of Po[phios] Ail[io] Antiocho

I Marko Joulio Apell of Idria Myla was summoned by the god for I had fallen ill repeatedly and suffered from indigestion. In Aigina during the voyage, he bade me not be extremely irritable and when I was in the temple he directed me to cover my head for two days (during which it rained) to take cheese and bread plentifully with lettuce to wash myself with my own hands to practice running to take the top of citron soaked in water to rub myself against the wall of the Akorion ¹² to walk about in the upper portico to wing to mear myself with and to go barefoot to pour wine into the warm water before entering the bath, to bathe alone, and to give an Attic drachma to the bath attendant to offer joint sacrifice to Asklepios Epione and the Eleuthian goddesses to take milk with honey. On day when I was drinking milk alone he said Put honey into the milk that it may pass through (i.e., be cathartic)

And when I besought the god to let me free more speedily I seemed to grow ill-meared with multitudes and alt from the *abatn* along the Akorion led by little boy with mocking censure while the priest said Thou art cured but must pay the fee for healing. I did according to my vision and when I rubbed myself with salt and wet multitudes I suffered but when I washed I had no pain. The event took place in the ninth day after my coming.

He then touched my right hand and breast and when I was sacrificing on the following day flame leapt forth and burnt

¹¹ Bunte in *SGAS*, 1886 1 112 118 (text, translation and commentary)

¹² Apparently part of the Asklepios occurred from the voice heard there

my hand so that blister broke out but after a little my hand
was well

A I prolonged my stay the god told me to use dill with olive
oil for headache Formerly I had not suffered from my head but
my studies brought on congestion After I used olive oil I was
cured of headache For swollen uvula the god told me to use
cold gargle when I consulted him about it and he ordered the
same treatment for inflamed tonsils

He bade me inscribe this treatment and I left the temple full
of gratitude and in good health

Popularity of the Asklepieia

The sick came to the Asklepieia in large numbers and
Strabo (VIII vi 15 p 374 C) says that Epidaurios was
constantly crowded The hope of receiving divine favor
and directions for the cure of their maladies and the
reception by experienced Asklepiads gave comfort and
mental relief while the change of scene and rest and a
simple regular life in the open air amid surrounding
of unusual attractiveness and interest were conditions
favoring an improvement of health and probably effected
many cures without other treatment Whatever may have
been the elements upon which the healing depended the
benefits conferred by cultic practices were so real and
tangible that the votaries of the god increased in number
and influence until the worship of Asklepios had con-
quered the whole of the Greek world and had to be
reckoned with as one of the main religious forces of later
Hellenism¹¹⁷

Recreation

Patient and visitor found much to engage their atten-
tion at the sanctuaries If not occupied in carrying out
the directions received for treatment the sacred precinct
offered varied opportunities for recreation and religious

¹¹⁷ Farnell in *ERE* vi 418

devotion according to taste. There were ceremonies at the chief temple and the shrine of associated deities and heroes which were at times elaborate and interesting in the peristyle of the temple or in the porticoes. Physicians and philosophers discoursed on matters pertaining to the cult and were ready to assist in expounding dreams, visions, and mysteries as well as the miraculous cure of the god and his associates and there were poets always eager to recite their work (Aristides *op. cit.*, 1; Philostratus *op. cit.* 1. 13). Those who were able ascended Mount Kynortion and sacrificed to Apollo Maleate and there were the Roman boys in the gymnasium content in the stadium play at the theater musical chant and melody and dancing.

Thank offerings

When a suppliant was healed the thank offering and payment became even more important than the preliminary propitiatory sacrifice. These offerings were made not only to Asklepios but to the other deities represented by shrines within the precinct who were supposed to have contributed to the cure including the auxiliary god Telephos or Akesios representing convalescence and Hypnos and Oneiros presiding over sleep and dream or incubation, while it was also regarded a duty and wise precaution to make sacrifice to Hygieia. The offering (*CIA* II 835-836) consisted of money payment or of some gift dedicated to the temple but it appears that for the most part the patient discharged their debt or expressed their gratitude. They pleaded and with great variety of gift. If the payment required could not be made at the time promises were accepted and these were fulfilled within the year, although instances are recorded of suppliants refusing to pay and having their affliction returned to them. The most common gifts were

model of the part healed in terra cotta ivory bronze gold or silver and these were sometimes inscribed with the name of the donor. There were relics of many kinds. A boy gave his *astragaloi* to the god and Alexander the Great left his breastplate and spear in the temple at Gortys (Pausanias VIII xxviii 1). Others gave temple furniture bronze ring or ornamental object such as serpent in gold and silver one of these being a gold snake coiled round staff and there were many inscribed tablets and works of art such as bas-relief of the god and his attendant statue and painting (Frazer *Paus*, II 238-239). Pæan or hymn of praise prayer and drama concerning the life of the god were dedicated to the temple. At Athens such hymns have been found inscribed on stone (*CIA* III 171 a) while it is said that A Klepios appearing to Sophokles commanded him to write a pæan in his honor and part of one supposed to be by him has been discovered.¹

Public health functions

The public recognized in A Klepios and Hygieia power of protection of the health of the community in addition to their ability to serve the individual and they were regarded as public benefactors. Neglect of the god might bring disaster upon the people in the form of pestilence or war and the State protected itself against such calamities by exercising supervision and control over the rites of prayer and sacrifice. The Council at Athens brought Asklepios and Hygieia from Epidauro (cf Hygieia) because of an existing plague and in gratitude for their service gave them the epithet of savior. Thereafter in addition to the yearly festival held in their honor sacrifices were made during the year interval fixed by law and the Boule decreed special offerings.

¹ Wilton *op cit*, p. 29

ings of an ox or a bull to Asklepios Hygieia and other deities of the Asklepieion for the health of the Council and that of the citizens and their families while public health was considered of such importance that early in the fourth century B.C., the Council of the city assumed entire control of the administration of the Asklepieion. The Epidaurian made similar appeal. Each year with flowing hair clad in white and wearing wreath of laurel and orange blossom the noblest citizens marched from the city to the Asklepieion chanting hymn in praise of Apollo Asklepios, and Hygieia and on reaching the *hieron* they offered prayer and sacrifices for the health of the citizens and their families and for the general welfare of Epidaurus.

Public festivals

Great public festivals known as Asklepieia were held regularly with much pomp and ceremony in honor of the god at many of his sanctuaries. They were regarded as great fêtes and were exceedingly popular but the details concerning most of them are lacking. The best known were celebrated at Athens Epidaurus and Kos.

Festivals at Athens

At Athens two fêtes were held yearly for Asklepios called the Asklepieia and the Epidauria and both were under the direction of the State. The Asklepieia which took place in March or April was of minor importance compared with other festivals of the city as the Panathenaea and the Eleusinia but it was more strictly religious than at Epidaurus and Kos since it was not accompanied by athletic games. The more important celebration was the Epidauria (Pausanias II xxvi 8) which was held in August-September (possibly September-fifth) during the Eleusinia. The festival was established

to celebrate the initiation of Asklepio in the Eleusinian Mysteries and in honor of the relation between his cult and that of Demeter and Kore. According to an early myth Asklepio, who was due to attend the ceremony, was delayed in crossing from Epidaurus, arriving only on the second day, after all others had been initiated but was nevertheless accepted.¹¹ The Epidauria therefore began on the evening of the second day of the Eleusinia. The ceremony held in the Asklepieion lasted all night and in the morning the worshipper offered sacrifice with mysterious rite. Nothing is definitely known of these ceremonies but it is assumed that as they were in commemoration of the initiation of the god they were of somewhat similar character. Later in the day processions were formed and the sacred *kiste*, relics and relief were exhibited by bearers. It is asserted that a many-headed sacred dog figured in these festivals. In the view of the Athenians Asklepios never lost trace of his original character of hero, as celebrated by the early poet, and it is assumed that this aspect of the god was honored by the festival of which little is known, the *Heroa*, which was held at the Asklepieion although it may have had a more general significance (*CIA* II 1 add et corr 453 b and c). In the festival both political and religious organization joined, e.g. the Council of the Areopago, the Ephebe of Telephoros and the Orgeones who had a shrine of Asklepios in the deme Probalta where they conducted a special ritual (*CIA* II 11 990).

Festivals at Epidaurus

The Megala Asklepieia (*IG* iv 1473) usually called the Apollonia and Asklepieia or the shorter form Asklepieia and sometime Sebasteia [revered] Askle-

¹¹ Farnell *Cult*, 111 201.

pieia (*CIG* 1186)¹ held at Epidauro every five years in the month of February and lasting nine days was the most elaborate of all the fe tivals in honor of Asklepio nd attracted throng from all parts of Greece At first it was conducted by the Asklepiadaí but later probably after the administration of the sanctuary was taken over by the Council of Epidauros by the Argives The fir t day wa given up to the preliminaries and the next to the religious exercises All the temple and hrine of the heron were magnificently decorated and the whole precinct was decked for the celebration Sacrifices were made to the several deities while great choir chanted p an to Apollo Asklepio and all other divinitie of the anc tuary By an old regulation dating probably from the fifth century B C, the acrifice were made first to Apollo then to Leto and Artemi The cock the fowl appropriate to A klepio wa acrificed both to Asklepios and Apollo with barley me l wheat and wine Asklepios received a bull his male a ociate received a second one and hi female as ociate a cow^{1 1} The image of Asklepio in a triumphal car was drawn through the precinct by Centaur carrying lighted torches followed by priest and acolytes chanting hymn¹² In the e proce ion a hymn by I yllo wa sung in Ionic stan as giving the genealogy of A klepio¹ The e proce ion were in many re pect imilar to tho e of the Korybante The priest usually nounced a few miracle which were received with loud acclaim Later in the d y there were fea t and the vigil la ted through the night The succeeding day were given up to athletic contests in the tadium race wre tling

¹ Nil on *op ct*, p 409

¹¹ *Ib*, *oc cit*

¹² A f w of th p a h ve b en pre rv d, W lton *op ct*, p 29

¹ Nil o *op ct*, p 41

and other games plays in the theater competition in music contests of rhapsodists and other entertainment. Many of the best athletes of Greece contested in the games and at the close of the celebration prizes were awarded to the victor. Other festivals are said to have been held at Epidaurion, one especially possibly every third year in August or September within nine days after the Isthmian games.

Festivals at Kos

At Kos public sacrifices were offered monthly and there was a yearly festival to celebrate the consecration of the newly elected Hierex with game contests of various kinds and plays in the theater in the city following the religious ceremony. Every fifth year the Megalasklepieia, a ceremony of especial magnificence was held in connection with the Dionysia (*SIG*, 677 line 4). For this preparation was made long in advance and the hieron was elaborately decorated for the entertainment of the throng of visitors. There are few references in the inscription to Asklepieia that relate to the ritual but there was a celebration of which little is known except from an allusion in a letter of Hippokrates (*ad Senat. Popul. Abderitani*, II)¹ that was called taking up the staff (ἵταθ' ἑρπύκηνας)¹. This rite was held during the annual fête and it is presumed that it referred to the transfer of the symbol of priestly dignity in the yearly change of chief priest.¹

Festivals at Pergamon

At Pergamon the festivals were observed with great solemnity. A bull was sacrificed to Zeus, Athena, Dionysos.

¹ ⁴ Hippokrates *op. cit.* II 1274

¹² Ptolemy and Hecataeus *op. cit.*, p. 348 also Welles *op. cit.*, p. 72

¹ Nilsson *op. cit.*, p. 411 note 4

o and Asklepios and after being quartered on the re-
was placed before each statue while patients were brought
each deity in turn (CIG, 3538) Telephos was espe-
cially revered at Pergamon and during the festival
prayers were sung in his honor

Other festivals

In the later period when Asklepios had become popular games were named for him in many places Alexander the Great worshipped at Soloi in Cilicia where he established a magnificent festival Megala Asklepieia were celebrated both at Ankyra in Galatia and at Thyateira in Lydia while at Lampakos in Phrygia two festivals were held each year in the Lenaion and in the Leukathion at which the citizens wore wreaths of laurel and oleander and made sacrifices the expenses being borne by the treasury of the god (CIG, 3641 b) At Tamynai in Euboea the god had a festival with sacrifices at which horsemen and children under seven years took part the name of the latter being recorded Festival with games were held also at Byrrhos on Karpathos Kalymnos Ephesos Kyzikos Prousia (modern Hypium) Nikaea Lodikey Rhodiopolis and Termessos¹⁷

Medical progress toward scientific methods

The tradition of Greek healing tends to confirm the view that following the Trojan War the Asklepieia continued as the chief exponent of the healing art and that the more thoughtful observer among them became increasingly impressed with the value of material remedies such as herb, root, and hygienic régime The traditional development of the art toward more scientific understanding followed the cult of Asklepios as the chief line of descent until the dawn of Greek history after

¹⁷ Nissen, *op. cit.*, p. 413

which it progresses may be more clearly traced. At the century passed the Asklepiads evidently endeavored to put their experience to better use by collating their observations for the benefit of the clan. Such efforts are first made manifest in the work of their brethren of Kos and Knidos the medical writer whose record, the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, formed the basis for later studies and are the earliest systematic writing on the healing art that have been preserved to modern times. Formulas that had proved successful and wise sayings or medical aphorisms called Knidian sentences were inscribed on the wall of the temple and dormitories for ready use (Pliny *op. cit.*, xx, 100 Strabo XIV ii 19 p. 657 C). The responsibility of the physician was recognized by the establishment of schools at Kos, Knidos, Rhodes, Kyrene and Alexandria for the better instruction of the Asklepiads. Records were collected, libraries were formed and medical theorists and writers endeavored to discard error and to establish a more accurate differentiation of diseases, more correct prognosis and more effective treatment despite the strong religious leaning toward the miraculous. At Athens and Epidaurum there were no such schools yet it cannot be doubted that the therapeutic at the sanctuaries were at least on a par of intelligence and skill with those of the Dorian coast. The marvellous acts of the god recorded in a few choenice must not be taken as a true index of the character of the treatment of the thousands of patients applying at the Asklepieia. No records of cures have been found at Athens only inscribed ex votos (*CIA* ii 835-836) and the only account of the method used there comes from Aristophanes (*op. cit.*, 632 ff). Medicine in theory and practice became more rational with the passage of time and less dependent on faith and miracle. In the late Greek period and after the Roman conquest during the early

centuries of the Christian era the Asklepieia were steadily becoming more like modern sanatoria and hospital and it is a notable fact that these were the only charitable institutions established by the Greek.¹ Here patient underwent a more systematic medical and hygienic treatment under the direction of physicians and in association with the religious rite of the cult. Asklepiades the rhetor underwent a three month course of treatment at Epidauro and Aristide probably remained at the healing sanctuaries a still longer time. Many of the sick at Pergamon the Serapeum at Alexandria and numerous other shrines were treated by prescription given in dream and the healing art undoubtedly was cultivated in the religious dream of the Asklepio cult (Artemidoros iv 22 Iamblichos *op cit*, iii 3).¹ while Farnell¹⁰ make note of the striking divergence between the European spirit of Hellenic religion and the Oriental spirit of Mesopotamia the Babylonian god practice magic the Hellenic Asklepio practices and foster science and his cure at Epidauro

how the beginning of a new therapeutic. The Asklepiads are credited with an endeavor to retain the knowledge of healing among themselves but this monopoly was never effective and it is known that from the seventh century onward many of the foremost Greek philosophers included healing among the subjects of their speculation and practiced it side by side with physician independently of the cult.

The cult influence

From his earliest shrine the cave at Trikka in Thessaly the fame of Asklepios spread abroad and after the

¹⁰ Dictionnaire *op cit*, p 331

¹ Thrasher in *ERE* vi, 543

¹ In *ERE* vi 418

divine alliance with Apollo the scene of his activities shifted to Argos, where at Epidauro was developed the most splendid and extensive resort for health and pleasure in ancient Greece and the Delphic oracle declared Thou O Asklepios art born to become a great joy to the world. The cult was limited to healing and Asklepios became the chief of all spiritual agencies ministering to the sick. He was exalted to the rank of a high deity and the spirit of divine beneficence for the relief of suffering humanity radiated from Epidauros throughout the whole of the Greek world so that his cult became powerful influence among the Hellenes. In the later age the individual had a greater liberty in the god he might choose and was no longer limited to the cult in which he had been born. This freedom had already for some time been offered by the *thiasoi*, and now in the Hellenistic world especially by the powerful and wide influence of the cult of Asklepios the idea was developed of a deity who Healer and Savior called all mankind to himself and it was this significant cult phenomena that induced Kerkida [third century B.C.] to include Hermes the Healer among the true divinities who deserve worship ought to supplant that of the older god.¹¹

Recapitulation

Reviewing the history of the cult of Asklepios one cannot fail to be impressed with its progressive character and with its ability to adapt itself to many changes in thought and point of view and to lead in the art of healing during an extended period of intellectual development in Greece. Receiving its inspiration from a hero of Thessaly becoming a cave or earth spirit and with certain herb remedies and an oracle it gained fame and

¹¹ Farnell, in *ERE* vi 422

reigned upreme in its sphere for many centuries. Its leader continued as the ' blameless physician dispensing health and happiness. Free from the frailties of other Greek heroes and deities devoted only to the interest of suffering humanity he won the confidence, reverence and worship of an independent people and raised from the rank of a hero to that of a demigod was finally deified with generous and general acclaim. His descendant clan more kingly than others maintained the religious character of the cult, and benefiting by its experience established scientific methods and principles¹ laying the foundations upon which all subsequent progress in medicine has been built. The cult withstood criticism and bitter satire and spread its methods of healing throughout Hellenic and its colonies. Asklepios was adopted by the Romans brought relief to their misery and held sway as their chief healing divinity during a considerable part of the Republic and for several centuries of the Empire until the cult of the old religions were submerged by the wave of early Christianity. The character of Asklepios was interpreted in art by the commanding figure and majestic countenance of Zeus himself expressive of supreme benignity and paternal sympathy.

The mystic Asklepios

Asklepios personified the mystic power of divinity over the healing force of the unseen world in both its uranic and chthonic aspects. His emblem was the serpent the symbol of life, sagacity and healing in which the people recognized the skill and majesty of the god. It is perhaps impossible at the present day to appreciate the mystic atmosphere in which the Greeks idealized their divinities as possessing all supernatural powers. Modern materialism does not permit of feeling that sympathetic

¹ Singer op cit, pp 102 ff

beneficent touch of the divine matter of the healing art which drew all Hellenes and all official Rome to his feet so beautifully expressed by Pater¹ However the development of this divine personality associated with the period of the highest intellectual expression of the ancient Greeks, is a most instructive example of the psychological attitude of the pagan world toward deity in the evolution of polytheism which may be more readily understood by an appreciation of the various transformation of the religious aspect in which he was conceived and which may be formulated at several stages (1) the mortal Thesalian physician who learned the healing art from Cheiron and taught it to his sons who applied it with distinction in the Trojan War (2) heroified after death his spirit conceived an earth daimon a cave spirit with the serpent as its emblem continued his activities sending forth from the depths cure for disease and prophecy and celebrated by Homer and other poets (3) he became the son of Apollo and the great Epidaurian god of healing he was deified by the thunderbolt of Zeus and assumed a uranic as well as a chthonic aspect with a cult that was recognized as dominant throughout Greece (4) the demigod and hero of Athenian tradition (*Heros Iatros*) honored by great festivals (5) and finally Æsculapius the god of healing of later Roman tradition represented by the serpent who faded from view in a new era¹

AMPHIARAOS

AMPHIARAOS was a grandson of Melampous from whom he inherited his faculties of seer and prophet although according to tradition he first developed his mantic power after leaping at Phlious (Pausanias II xiii 7)

¹ *Op cit*, I 27 42

^{1 4} Rohde, *Psyche*, I, 141 145

He was engaged in the Theban war and after the death when pursued by his enemies Zeus saved him from disgrace by opening the earth which swallowed him with his charioteer chariot and horses (*ib.*, IX viii 3) Because of his valorous deed Zeus made him immortal and he arose as a god from the spring at Oropo (*ib.*, I xxxiv 4) where the people worshipped him as a deity while all Greece counted him as such (*ib.*, VIII ii 4)

Amphiarao was killed in divination he became renowned as a healing deity and his dream oracle at Oropo was held in high esteem According to inscription the Amphiareion at Oropo was founded at the end of the fifth century B.C. (Frazer *op cit.*, v 31) The temple which stood in an ample *temenos*, was ninety five feet long by forty three feet wide and had a broad portico with six columns on the east side The cella had three aisles separated by columns with colossal statue of Amphiarao in white stone in the center In front of the temple was a platform of limestone twenty eight feet long and fourteen wide divided into five compartments each dedicated to several divinites One was consecrated to Zeus Paian Apollo and Herakles another to heroes and the wives of heroes a third to Hestia Hermes Amphiarao and the children of Amphilochos a fourth to Athena Pionia (*Kerameikos*) Aphrodite Hygieia Ionia Pankeia and Ionia and the fifth to Pan the Nymph and the river Acheloo and Kepheos Near by was a spring from which the god had arisen North-east of the temple was an *abaton*, an open Doric colonnade with forty nine columns three hundred and sixty feet long by thirty six wide There was a central line of Ionic columns dividing the stoia into two aisles and along the inner stuccoed wall which was decorated with painting and inscription there was a long stone bench Adjacent to the *abaton* was a building dating from the third century

BC containing ten bathrooms. Near the great altar was a low semicircle of rising earth. Behind the *abaton* on the hillside was a theater with a stage forty by twenty feet and a chorus place forty feet wide (Pausanias I xxxiv).

At the Amphiareion healing was effected through dream rather than by prediction of an oracle (*ib.*) An air of sanctity pervaded the *hieron*, and if anyone misbehaved he was subject to a fine. A *neokoros* took down the name and address and collected not less than nine obol from each patient (*IG* vii 235). All suppliant bathed and after purification partook of a special diet from which beans were excluded. Before incubation each one fasted without wine for three days and without food for one day in order to receive the oracle with a clear soul (Philostratus *op. cit.*, ii 37) and made sacrifice to Amphiaraus and the other deities. The suppliant who could do so then killed a black ram and wrapping themselves in the skin passed the night in the *abaton*, the men at the eastern end, the women at the western end while a few slept on the earth before the altar (*IG* vii 4255). Those who received the desired vision or dream and were healed were the subject of congratulation amid general rejoicing. They threw pieces of gold and silver into the sacred spring and made the usual offering model of diseased part sometime in gold or silver and other gift (*IG* vii 303 67 ff 3498). The daughter of the god Alexida and Hebe assisted the suppliant and exercised healing function. The medical practice at the Amphiareion were the subject of bitter satire by Aristophanes in his *Amphiaraios*, produced in 414 B.C.

Amphiaraus was held in great respect his name apparently meaning doubly holy. A festival which was largely attended was held at the sanctuary every fourth year (*CIGGS*, 4253). The god was always more particularly identified with Oropos but had other shrines at

Rhamnous Argos Sparta Thebe and Athens In origin he seems to have been a chthonic daemon

APHRODITE

APHRODITE, originally a sea divinity was the goddess of love and the reproductive power of nature, as well as the deity of bridal and married life in the highest sense Her cult was generally austere and pure and she was bidden by Zeus to confine herself to the offices of marriage (*Il*, vi, 429) She was equated with Astarte and other cognate Semitic goddesses of love and reproduction and with Venus of the Roman pantheon Sometime she was called Mylitta (the who bring forth children) the Assyrian name of the goddess Ishtar (Herodotus i 131 199 Frazer *op cit* ii 130)

She was a cherisher of children In the cult of Aphrodite Ctesylla in Keos and in legend there is an allusion to her as a child birth goddess especially as she is related closely in the worship to Artemis Hekaterge¹ and in her worship under the title of Aphrodite Koliae on the coast of Attika she may have been regarded as bearing the same aspect It is possible she was invoked under the name Genetyllis (*qv*) Her association with healing is further attested by the fact that she shared an altar at Oropo with Athena the Healer and the daughter of Asklepios (*CIA* vii 136) while in the form of a dove she visited Aspasia and cured an ulcer on her chin (Aelianos *Historia Varia*, XII 1)¹

APOLLO

APOLLO, the deity of light music poetry archery prophecy and healing (Plato *Cratylus*, 47) was one of the

¹ Farn II *Cult*, ii, 55 656

¹ H reher, ed Leipzig, 1866 (1870), p 117

great divinities of the Greek pantheon though seemingly originally the leading god of a people who migrated into Greece from the north in prehistoric time¹⁷ He was the son of Zeus and Leto was the twin brother of Artemis and was born on the island of Delos In Greek religion Apollo represented mental enlightenment and civilizing knowledge rather than physical light but he also typified physical health manly vigor and beauty of form and as Phoibos Apollo he stood for truth the sanctity of the oath and moral purity Farnell calls him the brightest and most complex character of polytheism and his cult was both ancient and widespread in Greece¹

Apollo was renowned for prophecy and his oracle the greatest in Greece was located in a cleft of the rock at Delphi in Phokis near Mount Parnassos (Pausanias X ix 1 Strabo IX iii 12 pp 422 423 C) It was consulted on general matters but it was most esteemed for guidance in political affairs and individuals and deputations came from cities and state, far and near, to present their problems for solution The authority of the oracle was so great that it was believed the inspiration came from Zeus himself (Aeschylus *op cit*, 575) At Hysiai was a fountain sacred to Apollo where the *hydromanteia* was practiced those who drank the water became ecstatic and prophesied in the name of the god a practice and a belief that prevailed also at Klaro¹

Apollo was both a bringer and an averter of disease¹⁴ In his anger the far-darter sent pestilence and death among men with his arrows (*Il*, i 45) and in this character he was worshipped at Landos and called Pestilential (Loimios) Apollo and persons who were consumed by

¹⁷ Fox *op cit*, p 175

¹ Farnell *op cit*, iv 98

¹ *Ib*, iv, 222

¹ L. Clerc *op cit*, pp 171

di ea e were Apollo truck or sun truck (Macrobiu *Saturnalia*, I xvii 15) In his favorable mood he averted di ea e (Pausania I iii 4) and as a tayer of pe ti lence curing di ea e nd di pensing health he wa worhipped a Ouhio by the Mile ian and Delians (Strabo XIV i 6 p 635 C) Mu ic of which he wa the in ventor was used to overcome disease Grecian youth ang sacred hymns and ong that weetyly please to Apollo and topped a noi ome pe ti lence nd the Cretan Thaleta by music freed the city of the Lacedaimonian from a r ging pestilence (Plutarch *de Musica*, 14 10) It is not clear however that healing wa a part of hi early cult Apollo though often regarded a identical with Paian was not o de ignated by Homer or He iod and it i believed th t they were di tinct per onalitie until in the ixth century B C an alliance wa effected with A klepio and he received the epithet Paian and there after Apollo Maleate w a ocated at Epidauro

the upreme healer of the pantheon lthough the active healing wa delegated to hi on Asklepio A temple on Mount Kynortion overlooking the *hieron* of Epidauro wa dedicated to Apollo Maleate (Apollo of Malea) and held a fine tatue of the god It i said that the old god whose temple wa on Mount Kynortion (meaning the dog ltar) wa concealed under the Epi daurian Apollo Maleate It i as umed that the dog wa originally peculiar to thi god (*IG* ii 1651 *SIG* 631) and that from thi circumstance the dog appear first and mo t frequently in Epidauro a companion of A kle pio ¹⁴¹ Apollo Maleate was al o worshipped at Tegea Sparta and Athen Aischylo gives Apollo the epithet Loxia (of obscure meaning) and calls him an *iatro*

¹⁴¹ Nil o *op cit*, p 409 not 7 cf Fr d r *Asklepios*, pp 22 ff Thra r, in *ERE* vi 547

*mantis*¹⁴ or prophet leech and portent eer (*op cit*, 62) Sophokle addres ed him thou healer from Delo (*Œdipus Rex*, 149) Euripides refer to him a a healer (*Andromache*, 900) and Kallimachos in hi hymn (68) to Apollo speak of him as a teacher

And wi phy ical n t ught by him delay
The troke of f te and turn di ea e way

Euripide (*Alcestis*, 969) say that Apollo gave imple culled for men to A klepio on and Pindar (*op cit* v 85) declares that

Phoibos dire di e cur
To eer nd api nt matron how

Apollo Patroos wa a divine ancestor of Ion at Delo he was called *Genetor*, the Father (Diogenes Laertios VIII 1 13 Macrobius *op cit*, III vi 2) and the people believed they were descended from him At Sparta he had the epithet Karneios (Pausanias III xiii 4) while t Sikyon the temple had an inner shrine consecrated to him under the same title which only priests were allowed to enter (*ib*, II x 2) Apollo wa called *alexikakos* (avertor of ill) and this title wa emphasied after the Delphic oracle had stayed the pe tence during the Peloponnesian War He be towed protection and healing by extending the hand and in consequence he acquired the urname Hyperdexios Apollo wa an honored guest at the heling shrine at Oropos and wa equated with the Egyptian Horus

No public monuments to Apollo a The Healer have been discovered except one from Epidauros of Asklepios Apollo now in the Athens Museum¹⁴ Coins of late date from Thrace show Apollo *iattros* with laurel and

¹⁴ F rnell, *op cit*, iv 233 ff

¹⁴ Holland r *op cit*, p 82 fig 32

bow and the attribute of a healer the staff and serpent while another Thracian coin portray him a grouped with Asklepios and Hygieia and the hooded figure of Telesphoro¹⁴ According to an old tradition Apollo was killed by Python and was buried under the tripod at Delphi¹

ARISTAIOS

ARISTAIOS was one of the most beneficent heroes of ancient Greece a personification of the period of cooling Etesian wind which gave relief to man and beast during the burning dog days¹⁴ According to the most current tradition he was the son of Apollo and Kyrene and in mythology he was treated as a Thesalian deity akin to Zeus and Apollo (Pausania VIII ii 4) whereas in poetry he was reduced to a hero except that Hesiod identified him with Apollo who bore the epithet Aristaios at Keo¹⁴⁷ Pindar (*op cit*, ix 64) identifies him with Agreus (hunter) and Nomios (herdsman) Aristaios was a renowned pupil of Cheiron by whom he was trained in the art of manhood from the Nymph he learned agriculture and from the Muse prophecy and healing He was a protector of flock and herd and cultivated the soil taught people how to cultivate the olive and he was a celebrated beekeeper Diodoros (iv 81) says he received divine honor for the benefit which he conferred upon man by his useful discoveries He worshipped at Keo (his home) in Boiotia and in Thessaly as Aristaios Zeus and Apollo Nomios

Aristaios was also celebrated for his knowledge of the healing art He stopped the plague at Keo after raising

¹ Farnell *op cit*, iv 325

¹ Fraser *The Divine Gods*, p 4

¹ Fox, *op cit*, p 251

¹⁴⁷ Farnell *op cit*, iv 123 124 361

an altar and sacrificing regularly to Zeus Ikmaio (Apollonios Rhodios ii 522) ¹⁴

ARTEMIS

ARTEMIS was the daughter of Zeus and Leto a twin sister of Apollo and an offspring lovely beyond all heavenly being (Hesiod *Theog*, 919) She was a goddess of nymph of the wood and wilds a huntress queen and one of the great divinities of the Grecian pantheon She was an ethical and spiritual deity although her character as seen in mythology was contrary and difficult to understand Possessed of the gifts of health and strength she was an averter of evil and alleviated the suffering of humanity yet she sent plagues among men by her arrows and caused mental and nervous disorders while sudden and untimely deaths especially among women were ascribed to her Women afflicted with certain diseases were called moon struck or Artemis struck (Macrobius *op cit*, I xvii 11)

As a healing divinity Artemis was scarcely if at all second to Apollo both having received their gift from their mother She was able to cure the disease which she inflicted she restored Orete to sanity (Pherekydes *Frag*, 97) and as Artemis Korina tamed the daughter of Proitos (Bakchylides x 98) who erected two temples to her at Lousoi in gratitude (Kallimachos ii, 234 cf Melampous) As a physician goddess she had broad power and her methods availed so much of magic that she was regarded as allied to Hekate ¹⁴ She knew the medicinal properties of plants and was skilled in their use she assisted Leto in dressing the wounds of Aineia (Il, v 447 448) and as Artemis Thermia she was connected with the healing fountain at Mitylene (CIG,

¹⁴ Fox *op cit*, p 252

¹ Ib pp 182 ff

2172) Kyziko (Ari teide 1 503 D) and Rhode (IG I xxiv 4)

In her medical aspect Artemi wa however e sen tially a child birth deity one to whom women brought their clothe as an offering when a birth ended happily (*Anthologia Palatina*, vi 271)¹ although Homer (*Il*, xxi 483 ff) declared that she wa dreaded by women in child bed Lucian (*Dialogi Deorum* xvi) cau e Hera in conver ation with Leto to lur Artemi, saying that if he were re lly a virgin he could not even a sist ladie in the traw Kallimachos (iii 20 22) refer to her preference for the wild s ying that he will mingle with people only when women hara ed by harp throe call on a helper She encouraged child bearing and Euripide (*Supplces*, 958) ay that Artemis Lochia would not greet childle women In Delo he wa known a one of the Hypoborean and aced rite were performed to her under the ancient name Oupis suppo ed to mean watcher or watcher of women in travail ^{1 1} half for gotten but revived by l ter poetry In the Greek tate Artemi and Eileithyia were in charge of th actual proc e e of birth and Eileithyia wa often regarded a a form of Artemi (cf Hera) Women in travail invoked her aid and many of her titles Locheia at Phthiotis (*CIG*, 1768) and in Pergamon (Gambreion *CIG*, 3562) as well as Lochia or Lecho at Sparta (*IGA*, 52) Soodina at Chai roneia (*IGS* 1 3407 *CIG*, 1595) and Lysi onos (*Hym Orph*, xxxvi 5) fully attest her obstetric function nd her interest in matter pertaining to the female sex¹ At Epidauro he wa Artemi Pamphylaea and Orthia

^{1 0} L D ubner Birth (Gr k nd Roman) in *ERE* ii 648

^{1 1} F rnell, *op cit*, ii 487 488 l o Grupp *op cit*, pp 45 15 241

¹ F rnell, *op cit*, ii 444 445 567 568 Thr m r, in *ERE* vi 548

and he frequently appear as Artemis Soteira ¹ while the gold silver and ivory models of limbs contained in the panelling of the Artemiseion at Ephesos testify to the gratitude of her suppliants

Her cult was a primitive one in Attika Lakonia and Arkadia, but her worship extended all over Greece Cretan worshipped her as Britomartis Sweet Maid At Lousoi there was a celebrated healing shrine which tradition assigned to her the Artemiseion (Pausanias VIII xviii 8) and she was also associated with the healing shrine at Ephesos beside presiding over one at Alpheios in Eli where suppliants bathed in near by lake and stream and were supposed to be cured by a magical ablution ^{1 4} Artemis had a prominent place at Epidauro where a beautiful temple was dedicated to her By the Romans she was identified with Diana

ATHENA

ATHENA, whose origin is referred to the archaic period in Attika, ¹ was one of the most prominent goddesses of the Olympian circle representing mentality and wisdom and being a patroness of every art requiring skill and dexterity She was worshipped with zeal and devotion in all parts of Greece and was regarded as a national deity A Pallas Athena she was the goddess of battle promising civilized valor and war in it defensive rather than aggressive aspect A Athena Polias she was the guardian of Athens and the mainstay of the body politic honored by magnificent public festivals the best known of which was the Panathenaea She was given the epithet *soteira* (avior or deliverer) and was identified by the Romans as their Minerva

¹ Farnell *op cit*, II 572 not 53 577 not 78, 10 Grupp *op cit*, p 12

^{1 4} Farnell *op cit* p 185

Farnell *op cit* I 25

References to Athena as a healer are somewhat vague but there are ample evidences of her connection with the healing art. Just within the gate of the city of Athens stood statue to the Healing Athena near those of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Pausania I ii 5) and at the entrance to the Akropolis, close to the image of Asklepios and Hygieia was one to Athena Hygieia (*ib* I xxiii 4) erected to her by Perikle because she had healed a workman who had fallen during the building of the *propylaea* (Frazer *Paus*, ii 277 ff. Pliny *op cit*, xxii 44). The inscription on the base shows that it was dedicated by the Athenians and it is believed that it was in some way related to the cessation of the great pestilence. The Attic Athena Hygieia image is assumed to be the same as Athena Polia reproduced from an earlier pestilence probably that of 500 B.C.¹ (*CIA* i suppl 362 *CIA* i 475). After Asklepios had been brought to Athens the aspect of Athena as Hygieia appears to have faded although a statue to Athena Hygieia now in the Athen Museum has been found at Epidauros. Effigies of Asklepios and Hygieia were grouped with that of Athena Alea in her temple at Tegea and the latter's relation to health and healing (Pausania VIII xlvii 1) while as a healer she was honored at the Amphitheion at Oropos and was called Athena Paionia (Pausania I xxxiv 3) an epithet used also at Athens.¹⁷ In Lesbos she received the epithet Hyperdexia (Stephano Byzantino s.v. Ὑπερδῆξις) Athena and Hermes cured the madness of the daughter of Proitos (cf. Melampous).¹ She was the guardian of eyesight especially of children and at Sparta was called

¹ P. Woltz, *Zur Athena Hygieia des Pyrrhos* in *MAIA*, 1891 xvi, 153-154. Thraupner in *ERE* vi, 545.

¹⁷ F. Rnell, *op cit*, i 317.

¹ *ib*, i 1.

Athena Ophthalmitis the keen eyed godde (Pausania III xviii, 2) The aigis her sacred symbol was used in battle and for the purification of temples and in an Athenian ceremony possessed life giving power At certain times it was carried about the city to protect it from plague and other evil and taken by the priestesses to the house of newly married women probably to procure offspring Also it was placed in the lying in room to favor easy births¹ In origin she appears to have been a weather deity¹⁰

AUXESIA

AUXESIA (Increase) was a goddess her name implies an earth goddess promoting growth of crop She was closely associated with Demeter (*q v*) and both were primarily local divinities of Epidauros Their cult received its first impetus when in time of dearth, the Epidaurians were bidden by the Delphic oracle to make them statues of olive wood from Attika (Herodotus v 82 83) Thence their worship spread to Aigina Sparta and Troezen At Epidauros they had the joint epithet *Αἰσίοι* or *Αἰείοι* (? *Parching*)¹¹ and their festival included curricular dancing by two choirs of women at each other (Herodotus v 83) At Aigina and Troezen they were called virgin and their festival was the *Lithobolia* (Stone throwing Pausania II xxxii 2)¹² a purificatory and propitiatory rite¹ Later the pair were merged in Demeter Kore of whom they became mere epithets From her original function of goddess of increase Auxesia became a deity of travail at Epidauros and Aigina

¹ Farnell, *op cit*, i 100, 273, 279 2

¹⁰ Grupp *op cit*, pp 11 6 ff

¹¹ *Ib*, pp 1 2 1 3 Ueber *op cit*, pp 129 130

¹² Farnell *op cit*, iii 93 4 113

¹ Grupp *op cit*, p 901

DAMIA

DAMIA whose name appears at Epidaurus and Mn[e]ia and at Sparta as Damia but which is of very uncertain meaning^{1 4} is almost always mentioned together with Auxesia (q v) with whose function and rite her own were identical. They were goddesses of the cornfield and of child birth being themselves represented as on their knee in the act of bringing forth¹. The worship of Damia spread however somewhat farther being found also at Tarentum and Rome (see Bona Dea) and perhaps in Campania¹. In origin she was probably a departmental deity ruling over a special province akin to that of Auxesia. In an inscription from Thera she has the epithet Lochaia being identified with a primitive Spartan goddess of child birth who was later merged in Artemis^{1 7}.

DEMETER

DEMETER was a celebrated and beloved goddess of the soil of fertility of vegetation and of agriculture and was considered a form of Ge or Gaia. She was the daughter of Kronos and the mother of Persephone who under the name of Kore (Maiden) was worshipped with her especially in Attika. The cult which was one of the most popular and renowned of ancient Greece included the Myteries of Eleusis proffering the initiate the expectation of a happy life after death and celebrated twice yearly by great festivals the Greater and Lesser Eleusinia with procession from Athens to Eleusis and secret religious rite. In the Roman pantheon Demeter was identified with Ceres.

^{1 4} Grupp *op cit*, pp 193 1164. Unger *op cit*, pp 4 129 130

¹ Farnell *op cit*, iii 113

¹ Gruppe *op cit*, p 370

^{1 7} Grupp *b*, pp 1133 1272. Unger *op cit*, p 144

The healing function of Demeter are seldom definitely referred to (*Hym Orph* xl 20) but she was the cherisher of children (*kourotrophos*) at Athens killed in the magic of the nursery and the treatment of ophthalmia and a child birth goddess in a minor capacity¹ She was associated with Asklepios at Epidauros, Athens and Eleusis and she also had a shrine (*hydromanteion*) at Patrai in Achaia where she was appealed to for divination and prophecy in case of illness Tying a fine cord to a mirror suspended it down into a spring which was before the temple until it just grazed the water and then praying to the goddess and burning incense they were able to read in the mirror the outcome of their illness (Pausania VII xxi 12) At Troizen Aigina and Epidauros Auxesia and Damia (*qqv*) local goddesses of vegetation were so closely allied to Demeter and Kore that they were regarded as identical though with different appellative¹ At Tarentum and Syracuse she was named Eleutho and was regarded as one of the Eileithyia (He ychio *sv* ΕΛ υθώ)

DIONYSOS

It is generally believed that Dionysos was originally a foreign deity most probably of Thracian origin¹⁷ who became prominent in the Greek pantheon His name is plausibly interpreted as meaning Heaven Son¹⁷¹ primarily he was a divinity of vegetation especially of the vine and his cult found its way into Boiotia where Orchomeno and especially Thebes were its ancient

¹ Farnell *op cit*, III, 81

¹ *Ib* III, 113

¹⁷ Farnell, *op cit* pp 215 216 Krueger *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pp 240 242

¹⁷¹ Grunert *op cit*, p 1409, who believes (p 1410) that god to have been of Boeotian origin

center Thence it rapidly pread throughout Greece and his festivals held during the winter and pring with their mysteries, orgiastic and phallic rites and processions at night with riotous orgies and obscene songs became popular especially in Attika Corinth and Sikyon where they caused many scandal Nevertheless, to the e mysterie a to tho e of Demeter and Kore the Greek turned to secure the blessings of a life beyond the grave Through his connection with the earth Diony o wa also the god of mining and industry and in Orphic theology he held a high place a Zagreus the Great Hunter the son of Zeu by Per ephone or Semele ¹⁷

Dionysos po se ed gift of prophecy and healing which were the in piration of many oracles and hi priest practiced healing by touch and dream reading (Plutarch *Questiones Symposiaca*, iii 3) The Athenian were directed by the Pythian oracle to honor Diony o a a phy ician (Athenaio *Deipnosophistæ*, I xli) he wa called *iattros* and received the epithet *Paian* while a Dionysos Epaphios he removed di ease by the laying on of hand and aided child birth in the ame manner (*Hym Orph*, l 7) ¹⁷ There wa renowned Diony eion at Marathon, and another t Amphikleia in Phoki where rem rkable orgie were celebrated with phallic rite reputed to have been in tituted by Melampou (Herodotus ii 49) and where the revelation by dreams and the oracle were announced by a prie t acting a a *katochos*, or mouth piece of the god (Pausania X xxxiii 11) Diony os had a large h re in the Delphic oracle nd it is reported that he wa buried near the golden statue of Apollo in a tomb on which was the in cription Here lie Dionysos dead the on of Semele ¹⁷⁴

¹⁷ Gruppe *op c t*, pp 254 255, 70

¹⁷ Weinreich *p t*, p 27

¹⁷ Fr z r *op c t*, p 3

EILEITHYIA AND CHILD BIRTH GODDESSES

EIL ITHYIA, whose worship wa ancient and wide pread wa the chief of the three foremo t Greek goddesses of child birth, the other being Hera and Artemi ¹⁷ Both Homer (*Il*, xi 270) and Hesiod (*op cit*, 920) regarded Eileithyia as the daughter of Hera. The most ancient tradition is that she developed from her representing her obstetric function asisting in the physical process as a divine midwife and possibly she was a detached form of the marriage goddess. She was, however, sometime identified with Artemis and the two deities were frequently worshipped together. On an inscription found at Lebadeia a woman returns thanks to the gentle Eileithyia to whom she calls Artemides ¹⁷. The name has an adjectival form and doubtless means 'She who hath caused to come,' ¹⁷ and primarily there was in all probability multiplicity of Eileithyias as momentary deities who later were united into single divinity ¹⁷. At Athens accordingly the Eileithyias were three in number. Homer (*loc cit*) refers to them in the plural and speaks of the pain of a fresh wound as when the sharp and piercing pang seizes a woman in travail which the Eileithyias daughter of Hera who presides over difficult childbirth endures forth. Pindar (*op cit*, iii 710) describes the goddess as attending upon Koronis at the birth of Alkaios.

While Eileithyia watched her matriarch
Pierced with the thrilling dart that flew
From stern Lucina's golden bow

¹⁷ Prill's *Griechische Mythologie*, i 511 ff

¹⁷ Farnell *op cit*, ii 0

¹⁷ Bunck *Arch. Studien*, i 671 cf. Schulz *Qæstiones* pæ, pp 259-261

¹⁷ Unger *op cit*, p 29

According to Delian tradition Eileithyia came from the Hyperborean to assist Leto at the birth of Apollo and Artemis (Pausanias I xviii 5) while the Cretans believed that she was born on the banks of the Amnisos river in Knossian territory and Homer (*Odyssey*, xix 188) speaks of a cavern there which was sacred to her. For the Delians the mythical Lykian poet Olen wrote a hymn to Eileithyia to whom he gave the epithet Eulinos (With the Goodly Thread) and whom he identified with Fate and these were sung at her altar (Pausanias VIII xxii 3) Pindar (*Nemea*, vii 1) refers to her as a dispenser of time.

Daughter of powerful Hera that do not cheer
 Throned by the deep forboding of time
 The laboring birth-chamber Eileithyia hear

Eileithyia was closely related to Themis and the Themides and early tradition associates her with the daughters of Themis the Horai and Moirai representing her as the companion of the deities of birth and destiny who spun the thread of fate at the beginning of life and stood in the birth chamber.

The open right hand of Eileithyia on the abdomen favored delivery illustrated on Etruscan and Tyrian vase¹⁷ the right hand was raised with thumb and two fingers open the last two closed or the upraised right hand with the palm opened outward gestures of blessing and alio of natural magic¹⁸ Besides her benevolent aspect Eileithyia had a malignant character as a magician orceres and poisoner and when angry she exercised her power to delay or stop labor by gesture digiti inter se pectine iuncti¹⁹ At the instance of the jealous Hera she availed herself of this intermediary potency

¹⁷ Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 15

¹⁸ Farnell, *op. cit.*, ii. 13614

to retard the birth of Herakle when she pressed her knee together clasped her hand with crooked finger and muttered charm (Frazer *Paus*, v 45 46) staying till progress until Galinthis a maid of Alkmene (or Hilotis daughter of Teireia Pausania IX xi 3) deceived her released her knee and unlocked her hand whereupon Alkmene was promptly delivered (*Il*, xix 112 ff Ovid *op cit*, ix 298 ff) Galinthis was punished and Eileithyia according to tradition was exiled to Thebe where bachelors have been found representing her with the unfavorable trait Hera detained Eileithyia on Olympo for nine days preventing the delivery of Leto until the Delian priestess Iri on a secret mission promising her a necklace nine cubits long of gold set with elektron^{1 1} and inducing her to come to Delos to assist at the birth of Apollo and Artemis (*Hymn Homeric*, i 97 ff)

Eileithyia had many sanctuaries throughout Greece at Olympia also in Argos Arkadia Boiotia Megara and was everywhere held in respect and reverence especially at Delo The goddess also had shrines in Italy one of which was at Pyrgi (Strabo V ii 8 p 226 C) Associated with growth the Moirai and the fortune of the State¹ she was another goddess and was always represented as draped with a *chiton*, or with the *chiton* and *himaton*, usually with her hand extended and on holding a torch In her temple at Athen her image was draped to the feet and at Aigion it was of wood except the face finger and feet which were of Pentellic marble and was covered to the feet with a thin veil (Pausania VII xxiii 5) At Hermione she was regarded with such sanctity that only priestesses were permitted to see her image (*ib*, II xxxv 11)

^{1 1} A mixture of gold and silver in the proportion of five to one

¹ *Frazer op cit*, ii 608 612

The attribute of the goddess were the cord and torch and the torch because the pang of travail are like fire (*ib*, VII xxiii 6) These emblems were likewise used to represent the obstetric function of other goddesses as for Hera Artemis and Hekate which was also commonly indicated by adding the name of the divinity as Artemis Eleithyia at Chaironeia (*CIG*, 1596) and elsewhere in Boiotia and Hera Eleithyia at Argo and Athens was found in an inscription from Thoricos¹

In addition to Eleithyia and other deities of child birth above referred to whose worship was observed generally throughout Greece there were many local cults of child birth goddesses as of Locheia or Lecho at Sparta who is mentioned in two inscriptions¹ of Lochi or Locheia and of Eihon[e]ia to whom the Argive sacrificed dogs for easy delivery (Plutarch *Quaestiones Romanae*, 52) Dione Rhea Ichnaia Themis and Amphitrite are mentioned as sitting upon Leto (*Hym Hom*, i 93) Auge (Radiance) seems to have been a birth goddess who brought the child to the light of day or of life She is mentioned but seldom and may be an equivalent for Artemis¹ At Tegea she was identified with Eleithyia who was represented in the market place by an image kneeling in the position of a parturient woman which was popularly called Auge on her knee (Pausanias VIII xlviii 7)¹ She also appears as a priestess of Athena Alea who was associated with health and healing¹ Although need for departmental deity of child birth diminished Eleithyia became identified with a variant form

¹ K. K. il, Attisch Kult u. Ichnisten *Philologus*, 16 xiii 1 W. Dräxler in *Recherches* p. 2091

¹ ⁴ U. n. r., *op. cit.*, p. 144

¹ Farnell, *op. cit.*, i, 275 n. 442 443 cf. Wilkerson in *KS* iii 185

¹ Grupp *op. cit.*, p. 454

of her elf Eleutho¹⁷ al o child birth goddes (Hesychio s v ΕΛΥΘ΄) who wa identified with the child birth goddes Leukothea and who lat r wa equated with Iuno Lucina of the Roman Then there were al o divine nur es as the Samian goddess Kourotrophos¹ who wa a protectre of new born children and po sibly a form of Hera the Horai who in a hymn of Olen mentioned by Pau anī (II xiii 3) are said to be the nurse of Hera¹ and also of Zeu and Apollo (Plutarch *Quaest Sym* iii 9)

EPAPHOS OR EPAPHIOS

EPAPHOS (Touch) wa an ancient god the on of Zeu and Io who healed by touch nd the laying on of hand¹⁰ but lo t hī independence by haring hī power with other deitie and became merely a pha e n me H a ī ted at child birth by the laying on of hand and in thī function hī name ī a ociated with Saba īo He ī r cognī ed n the healing character of Zeu Epapho nd of Dionyso Epaphio¹¹

GEN TYLLIS

G N TYLLI, her n m imphe wa a godde s of child birth and a protectre of birth both a an independent deity and a a companion of Aphrodite who later ab orbed her thū becoming Aphrodite Genetylli Some time however Genetylli to whom a dog wa acrificed for easy delivery (Hesychio s v Γενετυλλίς) wa iden tified with Hekate or with Artemī¹ The name ī al o

¹⁷ F rnell *op cit*, iii 1

¹ U n r, *op cit*, pp 124 129

¹ Farn ll *op cit*, i 196

¹ Grupp *op cit*, p 860

¹¹ W m r ich *op cit*, p 27

¹ Grupp *op cit*, p 1198, cf Ro ch r ii 1270 Rohd *op cit*, 2d d (1898) p 11

used in the plural for a group of midwives (or inferior *daimones* that watched over child birth)¹ who were in favor among the women of Attika (Pausania I 15) who hung an olive wreath on the outer door if the child was a boy, and a wooden fillet if it was a girl. Aristophanes (*Nubes* 52) and Lucian (*Pseudologistes*, 11) refer contemptuously to the Genetyllides who were characterized 'as powers of doubtful origin and character who maintain themselves on the luxury and superstition of married women and whom the husband regard with suspicion and dislike'.¹⁴ Lucian (*Amores*, 42) mentions them in connection with the Koliade (a name applied to a group representing Aphrodite Kolia, the chthonic goddess of a grotto on the coast of Attika) in a tirade against the expensive divinities of midwifery.¹⁵

HADES

Hades, the ruler of the Underworld, was the son of Kronos and Rhea, a brother of Zeus and Poseidon and member of the Olympian circle. He captured Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, and carrying her off to the Underworld made her his wife (Hesiod *op. cit.*, 913). Believed to have control of life and death, he was invoked to prolong the former and to avert the latter, and though the healing cult of Hades and Persephone was of late development, it gained considerable renown. Their oracle was located at some cave that gave forth vapors, some time sulphurous and usually noxious, the hrine being

¹ *Fragmentum op. cit.*, II, 614, not b

¹⁴ *Ib.*, II 519-655

¹⁵ It is urged by some authorities that Aphrodite Kolia and the Koliades were primarily goddesses presiding over birth and that the usual explanation of their name is from the proteron *proteron* i.e. *proteron* (cf. Grupp *op. cit.*, p. 1357) who has a different suggestion.

known a Ploutonia or Charoneia and uppliant for relief appealing through the medium of priest by incubation

The most celebrated Ploutonion was within a cave in a fine grove near Acharaka in the Maiandro valley between Tralle and Nyssa in Karia the uppliant living near the grotto among the priest who slept in the open air and directed the treatment of the sick by their dream. The priest also invoked the god to heal the sick and conducted those to whom the god had sent dream that they wished them to enter their shrine into the cavern where they sometimes remained for several days without food (Pausanias X xxxii 13) but other sufferers observed their own dream and applied to the priest (*oneiropoloi*) to interpret them and advise treatment. To all other the place was forbidden a fatal annual festival was held at Acharaka during which a bull was let loose in the cave where it promptly died (Strabo XIV i 44 p 650 C). Another Ploutonion was at Leimon above Nyssa (*ib*). At Hieropolis in Phrygia high in the valley which was all cavernous was still another Ploutonion at grotto about which was a railing. From the cave arose cloudy dark vapor which obscured the bottom and although the air about was innocuous and animals entering within the railing died immediately only the Gallois or eunuch of the Great Mother Goddess appearing to be immune (*ib*, XII viii 17 XIII iv 14 pp 579 629 630 C).¹ A Charoneion was located near Thymbria on the Magneian plain near the coast (*ib*, XIV i, 11 p 636 C) and another Ploutonion was to be found at Erythraia in Micedonia. The only shrine in honor of Hades was in Elis.¹⁷

¹ Fr. r. *Ados*, i 05 20

¹⁷ *Fo. op. et*, p 234

HEKATE

HEKATE, a chthonic deity was a goddess of the lower order of Olympian divinities although Zeus esteemed her above all while he received honor from the tarry heavens and especially from the immortal god (Heiod *op cit*, 412 ff) She was propitious to those who sought her aid he distinguished those whom he wished among the people giving wealth, victory and renown (*ib*) and Zeus made her the nursing mother of children (*ib*, 450) Hekate had power in the heavens on earth and sea and in the nether world and to this fact is attributed the triple form in which she is sometimes represented a Selene in heaven Artemis on earth and Persephone in the Underworld (Vergil *op cit*, iv 510)¹ It is claimed that Hekate was originally a moon goddess but she appeared as such only in the fifth century B.C. As a deity of the Underworld and of the night she was greatly feared whence in order to placate her anger and retain her favor people were accustomed to gather in large number at the crossroads on the night of the last day of the month and offer to her sacrifice called Hekate supper² Small statues of the goddess were placed before many of the houses of Athens and at the crossroad to secure her protection

Hekate was the teacher of all sorcery and he practiced healing by magic and sorcery he was also credited with having control over life and death and was appealed to in oracular duty Hekate was closely associated with Artemis as birth goddess (Eusebius *op cit*, III xi 23) and carried the torch of Eileithyia She was reputed to have discovered cornite Her symbol was the hound

¹ Cf Gruppe *op cit*, p 1290

² K.F. Smith Hekate Supper in *ERE* vi 565 567

Fornell, *op cit*, II, 519

HELIOS

HELIOS (Sun) was the deity of physical light the sun god whose myth goes back to an Indo-European origin. The island of Thrinakia (Sicily) where his cattle were tended was sacred to him (*Odys* xii 128). He gave light to god and men and seeing and hearing all things he had natural power of divination similar to those of Demeter and Hephæstos (Sophokles *Œdipus Coloneus* 868). He caused blindness as a punishment but he also restored sight as in the case of Orion (Apollodorus i 43) and his aid was invoked by the blind Polymester (Euripides *Hecuba*, 1067). Helios represented the vivifying powers of light and the sun ray or heliotherapy and his relation to the art of healing was recognized by a tablet of prayer and by a statue at Epidauros while at Gytheion he was worshipped with Asklepios and Hygieia (*CIG*, 1392) and at Megalopolis he was called *soter* (Pausanias VIII xxxi 7). His daughter Kirke and his granddaughter were killed in the use of herbs and were reincarnated. From an early period temples were dedicated to Helios in various parts of Greece but the chief seat of his cult was on the island of Rhodes where yearly festivals were held in his honor.

HEPHAÏSTOS

HEPHAÏSTOS, a son of Hera (Hesiod *op. cit.*, 922) and originally the god of fire later became the divine artificer of metal and a teacher of his art (*Odys*, vi 233). He delighted the deities with his artistic creation and Olympus was decorated with them (*Il.*, xviii 377-394) but though he was one of the Olympian divinities Zeus in anger threw him out of heaven with such violence that the injuries which he sustained made him lame ever afterwards (*ib.*, i 593). His favorite abode was the island of

Lemno where he was a chief deity and exercised his powers of healing¹ delusion hemorrhage and bite of snakes being mentioned as having been cured by him² He had a temple at Athen and an altar at Olympia (Pausanias I xiv 6 V xiv 6)

HERA

HERA was the wife of Zeus and the queen of heaven the noblest of goddesses beautiful stately proud and cold She was the only Olympian deity truly married (Hesiod *op cit*, 920) but though the equal of Zeus he was subservient to him She was jealous and quarrelsome and caused frequent disturbance in the royal *ménage* and though often victorious she was everely punished by her spouse (*Il*, I 522) She was identified by the Romans with their Juno

Hera was represented as a gracious benevolent deity especially entrusted with the affairs of women³ and being a motherly protectress she was the founder of marriage guarding the strict observance of its vows and punishing those who violated its duties As a goddess of fertility and childbirth she aided women in travail and it was she who sent the Eileithyiae when their hour had come She thus had the power of hastening or retarding birth and when excited by jealousy she exerted her influence to delay birth⁴ causing Leto to be in labor for nine days at the birth of Apollo and Artemis (*Hym Hom*, I 97 ff) and postponing the confinement of Alcmene giving the priority of birth to Eurystheus over Heracles (*Il* xix 112 ff Ovid *op cit*, ix 285 ff) The obstetric func-

¹ Grupp *op cit*, p 1313

² T P Hoffmann Die Heilgötter der Griechen I ABAW, 1843 pp 257 ff

³ Fränkel *op cit*, I, 10 f

⁴ *Ib*, I, 181

tion of Hera was represented by Eleithyia who is often regarded as a development from or a variant form of Hera but who was in all probability originally a distinct deity and whom the Cretans claimed to be her daughter (Pausanias I, xviii 5) Hera's power to cause insanity was notorious and was demonstrated in the case of Herakles (Euripides *Hercules Furens* 830) and those of Athamas and Ino (Apollodorus iii 28) and her control over Dionysos (Athenaios *op cit*, x 65) Hera had no oracular function

Both Argos and Samos laid claim to being the birthplace of Hera and at Athens and Argos she was worshipped as Hera Eleithyia At Samos a splendid temple the Heraion was erected to her by Polykrates and here great festivals were held in her honor She was also worshipped at Myken Sparta at Plataia in Boiotia as well as in Elis Corinth Euboea and at Aigion where her image might be seen by no one but priests (Pausanias VII xxiii 9)

HERAKLES

HERAKLES the most renowned heroic god of ancient times was ranked among the lower order of Olympian deities He was the son of Zeus and Alkmene and was born to overturn the curse from gods and men but his birth was delayed by the jealousy of Hera (*Il*, xix 112 ff Nikandros in Antoninus Liberalis *Transformationum congeries*, 29) and in consequence of her anger he was subjected to attack of madness besides being a sufferer from epilepsy which came to be known as the disease of Herakles In Hellenic tradition he represents morality combined with the indomitable courage that right wrong and he was the real warrior who yielded to the gods in

repentance and expiation. He performed seemingly impossible deeds. In the Roman pantheon he appears as Hercules.

Herodotus (*op cit*, 527) refers to his healing function and Prometheus brought him to alleviate his grievous wound while in the Orphic Hymn (ix 14) to Herakles an appeal is made to him. Come blessed one bringing all cures of diseases. He was revered as a divine physician at Erythraei and Hyettos in Boiotia (Pausanias VII v 5 IX xxiv 3) and in Mesene in Sicily (Aristotle 1 59 D) and he was recognized as a healer by an altar at the Amphiareion at Oropos with other healing deities while the Caucaian adored him with Prometheus as a deliverer from disease and epidemic.⁷ He was adored and given the title *alexikakos* (averting of evil) in the deme of Melite in Attika when he had caused the cessation of a plague⁸ and he stopped an epidemic among the Elians by changing a river bed to flow through and drain a low pestilential marsh (Philostratus *op cit*, viii 7). He also received the epithet *soter* (savior) in Thasos and at Delos and Amorgos he was worshipped as *apallaxikakos* (deliverer from ill). Owing to the evil designs of Hera on his return from Troy he was driven to the shore of Koo where according to one tradition he settled and was associated (some time confused) with Asklepios in healing (*Il*, xiv 250 xv 30). The Asklepiadae of Koo claimed to trace their genealogy to Herakles on their mother's side and his own descendant the Herakleidae were associated with the healing art.

Grupp *op cit*, pp 453-454

⁰⁷ Hirschfeld *Compendium der Geschichte der Medizin*, p 29

⁰ Sprung *op cit*, 1 13

A. Haug *Die Benennung Fouilles de Delos* 1 *BCH*, 1882 vi 342 1891, xvi 71

The Greeks had a tradition that the hot spring at Thermopylai had been created by Athena in order that Herakle might refresh himself ¹⁰ and hot springs were frequently dedicated to him. Who ever heard of cold bath that were sacred to Herakle (Aristophanes *op cit*, 1044)? He was especially renowned in healing as the deity of the hot sulphur spring (called *Chytroi*, or Hot Pot by the inhabitants) at Thermopylai which was a fashionable health resort (Herodotus vii 176 Strabo IX iv 13 p 428 C) and he also presided over the hot spring at Aidepso (Strabo IX iv 2 p 425 C) which were visited by Sulla for gout (Plutarch *Sulla*, 26). Medicinal plants were named for him. Herakle was sufficiently prominent in healing to cause Lucian (*Dial Deor*, xiii) to represent him as claiming precedence over Asklepios in heaven where they engaged in an unseemly quarrel and exchanged abusive language. Herakles terming Asklepios a mountebank a paltry herb doctor skilful in palming off miserable drug on sick people while Asklepios recalled some unfortunate incident in the life of Herakle until Zeus intervened and settled the matter in favor of Asklepios because he had died first.

HERMES

HERMES, the messenger of the Olympian gods was frequently called Psychopompos the conductor of soul to the throne of the chthonic deities (*Odys*, xxiv 1 ff) ¹¹. The divinity of trade of thief of traveller and of shepherd and hence regarded as prudent and crafty though tricky and a thief (*Hym Hom*, iii *passim*) he evolved as a god of dream and magic and was called Oneiropompos whence the Greek poet refers to his magic

¹⁰ Fr *op cit*, i 209-210

¹¹ See further Gruppe *op cit*, p 1321

wand a bringing sleep and Milton (*Paradise Lost*, xi 133) calls it his opiate rod¹

There are few references to his healing function¹ but he was the deity of the gymnasium and athletic and a guardian of health. He assisted Athena in curing the daughters of Proitos of madness.¹⁴ Lucian (*op cit*, ix) represents him as performing the operation of Cæarian section upon Semele who thus gave birth to Dionysos at the seventh month and he was honored at Tanagra for stopping the plague by carrying a ram on his shoulder around the city walls (Pausanias IX xxii 1). He received the epithet *soter* (savior) and *alexikakos* (averted of evil) but in a general rather than in a special medical sense and at Phara he was called the Market God being represented by a small square stone statue (an Athenian usage *ib*, IV xxxiii 3) beside which was his oracle while before the image was a stone hearth with bronze lamps. Perion was hinging to consult the oracle burned incense on the altar filled the lamp with oil and lighted them and placing coin on the altar whispered the question to the god. Then stopping the ear they left and when away from the place listened for the first word spoken in their hearing these being assumed to be the oracular response (*ib*, VII xxii 2 3).¹ Hermes was worshipped at Athens and throughout Greece but was especially revered among the Arkadians who regarded him as their ancestor.

HYGIEIA

HYGIEIA (Health) the Greek goddess who was the guardian of health was generally regarded as the daughter

¹ Grupp *op cit*, p 932

¹ *Ib*, p 1337

²¹ Farnell *op cit*, i 318

¹ *Ib*, iv 221 f, and compare the oracle of the Egyptian Apis

ter of Aklepio though he was sometime referred to as his ister or wife (Aristeide lxxix 5 *Hym Orph*, lxvi 7) She was the personification of physical health (Golden Health Pindar *Pyth*, iii 113) but was not a healing deity The name was used as an epithet of Athena¹ and Farnell has suggested¹⁷ that he may have been an emanation from or a detached and personified part of Athena originally representing mental rather than physical health Pausanias (I xxiii 4) mentions a statue to Athena Hygieia as standing near the *propylaea* the pedestal of which discovered on its original site in 1839 seem to date from the fifth century B.C., the legend running (Plutarch *Vita Pericles*, xiii) that Pericles dedicated a bronze statue to Athena in commemoration of her healing a jealous workman who had been injured by falling from the *propylaea* or the Parthenon during its construction The fragment of a vase has been found in Athens inscribed to Athena Hygieia on which is embossed a serpent evidently part of a serpent creature belonging to Hygieia The character of the text suggests that the inscription belongs to the sixth century B.C., and it is assumed to attest the antiquity of the worship of Athena Hygieia at Athens and long before the advent of Aklepio to that city (Frazer *Paus*, ii 277-281)¹⁸ although this is disputed¹⁹

According to common tradition Hygieia came to Athens with Aklepio from Epidauro in 420 B.C., but it is claimed that evidence of her presence there is lacking until about fifty years later Careful studies tend to show that he had a development independent of Aklepio

¹ Grupp, *op cit*, p. 1066

¹⁷ *Op cit*, i, 318

¹⁸ Harrison *The Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 389-393, 10 U.N.R. *op cit*, p. 1

¹⁹ Thraemer in Roeder iii 1486

with whom she appears at Athens in the fourth century B C (*IG* iv 1329) and if she did not come from Epidauron where she is supposed to have joined the cult she came from elsewhere in the Peloponnese probably from Titane. Hermes was sometime associated with her and her spouse (Kornoutos *de Natura Deorum*, xvi) and they acted as guardian of health. On vases Hygieia was represented as Euxenia (Wellbeing) and she was identified with the Roman goddess Salus in her capacity as a health divinity.

Hygieia was ever the chief of the divine retinue of Asklepios. She was represented as a young maiden fresh and active. Bas-reliefs show her as being in attendance upon the god attending by him and receiving the petition of the suppliant or introducing them to the god at Athens¹ without her symbol or a caring for and feeding the sacred serpent. Those who were restored to health approached her with thank offering before leaving the Asklepieia. Ariphron of Sikyon wrote a hymn to Hygieia in praise of her power of exalting the happiness of life and Samuel Johnson in quoting it remarks upon its beauty and force. Hygieia was the only one of the retinue of Asklepios who shared his exaltation to divine rank and on a Greek gem they appear together as a pair of deities.⁴ She was the intimate companion of the god and her statue was usually placed near those of Asklepios at Titane (Pausanias II xi 6) while at

⁰ Thracian, in *ERE* vi 551

¹ Hollander *op cit*, pp 107 ff

For representation of the goddess in ancient art, W. Wroth Hygieia in *JHS*, 1884 v 82-101. L. O. F. Koepfer-Dittich Hygieia in *MAIA*, I 85 x 255-271

In *The Rambler*, No 48

⁴ E. L. Bickert 750 in inscription depicted in *MAIBL*, p. 1898 xvi 80-20

Athens he was the only partner of the deity with Aklēpion. She was joint possessor of an altar in the Amphiaraeion at Oropo (*ib.*, I xxxiv 3 *IG* vii 372 412). The worship of Hygieia was emphasized at Argo and Corinth.

ISIS

Isis was a well known and greatly beloved deity of Egypt whose cult was one of the few of foreign prophetic goddesses which flourished in Greece. She was closely identified in function with Aphrodite and a shrine was built in honor of Aphrodite Isis at Tentyra in Upper Egypt (Strabo XVII 1 44 p 815 C) while under her own name a temple was erected to her at Peiraeus in 333 B.C. Similar to her fame in Egypt her cult being introduced despite Hellenic prejudice. Her worship was joined with that of Sarapis and when it had become more definitely a healing cult with divination especially through the dream oracle with interpretation of visions by priests (Diodoros 1 25) it had a rapid growth so that in the period of the Ptolemies a temple was built at the foot of the Akropolis to Isis and Sarapis. Many shrines were dedicated to the goddess in Greece although the one at Tithorea near the temple of Aklēpion was considered the holiest of all (Pausanias, X xxxii 13) no man living near it and none being permitted to approach it who had not been previously invited by a dream. Two festivals were held here in honor of Isis each year. At Boiotia in Lokris the temple of Isis and Sarapis was near the foot of Aklēpion (*ib.* III xxii 13) and at the extremity of the harbor at Kenchreiai the port of Corinth were sanctuaries of Isis and Aklēpion (*ib.*, II ii 3). The principal festival to Isis in Greece held on March 5 of each year to celebrate the opening of navigation is rather fully

described by Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, xi 7 17) and during it a ship laden with spice and richly equipped was sent to sea from Kenchreiai as an offering to the goddess

THE KABEIROI

THE KABIROI were a group of mysterious minor deities of obscure and probable foreign origin whose mysteries had long been in vogue in the fifth century B.C., and are rather definitely traced to a home in Samothrace and an institution of a non Hellenic people. They were primarily three in number: Axiaros, Axiokersos, and Axiokeras, equated respectively with Demeter, Hades, and Persephone, although others held that they were only two corresponding to Zeus and Dionysos (*Etymologicum magnum*, s.v. Κάβιροι). Early writers connect them with the Pelasgians, Samothrace, Lemnos, or Phrygia (e.g. Herodotus ii 51, *Anthology Pal.*, vi 164, 301, Nonnus xxvii 121 ff.). The constant Hellenic synonym for them was *theoi megaloi*, and apparently means the Great Ones (cf. Hebrew *kabbir* 'great') and it may be that this was a translation by Phoenician traders of their original epithet which has vanished though the ancient derived it from the Kabeirian Mountain in Phrygia. Later they were identified with the Cretan Kouretes and Daktyloi (Strabo X iii 7 19 20 pp. 466 472 C) and still later because of their name they were supposed to be Phoenician and were held to be the eight sons of Sydyk ('Righteousness') of whom the eighth was Asklepios (Ehmann cf. Philon Byblion in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, iii 569, Damaskios quoted by Photios *Bibliotheca*, 532^b).

In origin they seem to have been chthonic divinities and with their worship (fostered in Adania, Imbros, Paros, Miletos, and generally in the Aegean islands, a

well as on the Greek Coast while important Kabeiraia have been excavated at Thebes and Samothrace) there were certain rites, of which there is no clear evidence but which appear to have been analogous to those of Eleusis. The Kabeiroi mysteries of Samothrace seem to have had a moralizing effect on conduct since those who had partaken in them became more pious and just (Diodorus 149). At the Theban Kabeiraion was a grove sacred to Demeter and Kore, in which the Kabeiroi presided to which only the initiated were admitted and where cultic mysteries and healing were practiced (Pausanias IX xxv 5 Frazer *op cit*, v 136). Suidas (*sv ακωή*) regarded them as healing divinities they were known as inventors of medicine and music (Philon Byblion *Phænecum Historia*, ii 11) while navigators worshipped them as deities of the sea and wind (Diodorus iv 48 ff).

KIRKE

Kirke was an ocean nymph a daughter of Helios and mythic enchantress who enticed Odysseus and his companions to her island where he retained them for a year. She was killed in the knowledge of her husband in subtle poison (*Odys*, x 278 ff) and occasionally practiced healing.⁷

LETO

Leto, according to Greek myth the daughter of the Titan Kōios and Phoibe was the mother of Apollo and Artemis who were born on the island of Delos after the jealousy of Hera had delayed their delivery for nine days (*Il*, xix

For further material on this rather difficult problem see Frazer *op cit*, v 136. Frazer also mentions the Kabeiroi in *ERE* vii 28-32. Frazer also mentions the Kabeiroi in *op cit*, *sv* Kab()iroi.

⁷ Grupp *op cit*, p 708.

112 ff Ovid *op cit*, ix 297 ff) She had a knowledge of healing as aided women in labor and was a protectress of children whence she received the epithet of *euteknos* and *kourotrophos* (Theokritos xviii 50) while Homer (*Il*, v 446) refers to her in a connection with Artemis in describing the wounds of Aineias Her home and the center of her worship were the island of Delos In the Roman pantheon she was known as Latona and she was possibly in origin the Night

MALEATES

MALEATE was the name of a healing deity who was reputed to have been brought from the north with Asklepios²⁰ though the word is commonly used as an epithet of Apollo to indicate his healing function and Farnell¹ would apply Apollo whenever Maleate is mentioned Altar and sanctuaries were dedicated to Apollo Maleate at Tegea Athens and Trikke (*IG* iv 950 29) as well as at Sparta (Pausanias III xii 8) but the most celebrated shrine was erected on the summit of Mount Kynortion overlooking Epidauros (*ib* II xxvii 7) A sacrificial rubric found at Peiraeus and bearing the name of Maleate used side by side with Apollo (*CIA* ii 1651) is believed to indicate that he should be regarded as a divinity distinct from Apollo and to suggest that the identification with him came later at Epidauros Together with Apollo Hermes Hygieia and her sister he received three cakes as an offering

J G Miln, 'Greek Inscription from Egypt,' in *JHS*, 1901 1
20 f l o Fox, *op cit*, p 175, Grupp *op cit*, p 124

H Othoff, 'Greek and Latin World mythology' 1 *IF*,
195 v 305 ff

Wilton *op cit*, p 20

¹ *CIA*, iv 233 35 238

Thurs 1 *ERE* vi 547 f Grupp *op cit*, p 1442

THE MUSES

ACCORDING to the usual version the Muses were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne and were inspired goddesses of song, poetry the art and science and of well and spring. Originally they appear to have been only three in number but after Hesiod there were nine (*op cit*, 75-79). From Thrace and Boiotia their cult spread to other parts of Greece and became firmly established. Apollo was their leader; they received inspiration from the Delphian god and they instructed Aristaeon in the art of prophecy and healing (Apollonios Rhodios II 519).

THE NYMPHS

THE NYMPHS, Dryads, Hamadryads, Nereids and similar mythic personages were nature spirits of the hills, forests, springs and caves and their worship was usually conducted in the open air. Many were regarded as daughters of Zeus by unknown human mothers and ruling over springs, wells and streams which had medicinal properties they were credited with healing functions. Some were worshipped under a collective name. Thus in the Elia village of Herakleia at a spring flowing into the Kytheros river there was a sanctuary to a group of nymphs who presided over it: Kalliphana, Synallaxis, Pegaea and Iasis collectively termed the Ionides or Ioniades and according to Pausanias (VI xxii 7) "To bathe in the spring is a cure for all kinds of sickness and pains." In the Triphylia district of Elis was a warm sulphur spring issuing from a cave on the bank of the Anigros river over which ruled a band of nymphs called the Anigriades. These waters had an offensive odor which it is said they had acquired from the purification

Cf A. C. Pearson, *Muses*, in *ERE* ix, 35. Grupp, *op cit*, pp 1075-1078.

of the wound that Cheiron had received at the hands of Herakle and because Melampou had used its waters in cleaning the daughter of Proito of madness (Strabo VIII iii 19 pp 346 347 C Pausania V v 10) The springs were a cure for all skin diseases while the worship consisted of prayers vow bathing and the use of rational remedies According to Hesychios (*sv ιατρο'*) certain Elhan nymphs were termed phyician

ORPHEUS

ORPHEUS a hero god a divinity of music and the father of poetry was of Thracian origin and was said to have lived before the Trojan War According to tradition he was the son of Oiaagro and the Muse Kalliope but when he was awarded divine honor for his kill Apollo was credited with being his father The train from the golden lyre of Orpheus and his songs fascinated all animate nature so that mankind the beast of the field the tree and even the rock were moved (Pausanias IX xxx 4) He was reputed to have visited Egypt and to have brought back and originated the religious ceremonial and mystery of Greece especially the Mystery of Eleusis while he was said to have taught the worship of Demeter in Lakonia (*ib*, III xiv 5) and to have imparted to Hekate her mystery in Aigina (*ib*, II xxx 2) His name became a collective term applied to his descendants and their traditions gave rise to a religious sect which advanced religious theories of purification consecration reward and punishment and the future state of the soul known as Orphism while within the sect were developed the *thiasoi*, a powerful brotherhood who regarded the body as the prison of the soul and sought to diminish the influence of matter over spirit by sobriety and personal asceticism (Plato *op cit* 38)

The influence of music over certain diseases was recog

nized by the Greek from early time and Orpheu wa it chief exponent He wa a celebrated ooth ayer and exercised healing powers by appeasing the wrath of the god through his incantation conjuration and magic formula (Euripide *Alcest*, 966) The Thracian and Thessalian revered him a a divine phy ician and he di covered remedie for disea e (Pausania IX xxx 4) Orpheu had a famou oracle at Lesbo and there w n archaic tatue to him in the temple of Demeter in Lako ma t Taygeto (*ib*, III xx 5)

PAIAN

PAIAN wa the official phy ician of Olympo the divinity who die ed the wound of the god with anodyne cat pla m (*Il*, v 401 900) To the Greek the term ppe r to have meant a chant or ong of victory and thi con nection with music together with the fact that Pai n never developed a cult ha led Farnell to infer that it wa n old ppe ll tive of Apollo connoting hi healing func tion Homer nd He iod (*Frag*, 213) however tr t P i n and Apollo a di tinct per onalitie nd it i only fter the ixth century B C that the epithet Paian applied to Apollo i found in literature le ding to th inference that originally he wa a eparate deity l ter malgamated with Apollo Homer (*Odys*, iv 229) em pha i e the kill of Egyptian physician by aying that they were of the race of Paian and the name came to be n epithet given to divine healer Asklepio and other The word i derived from a ba e meaning to strike and i construed He who cure maladie by hi magic blow °

⁴ Farnell *op cit*, iii 201

Ib, iv, 234 f f Grupp *op cit*, p 1240

Boi eq *Dictionn ire éty ologique de a ngue grecq*, pp 73

PAN

PAN, a god of pastoral life and of flock shepherd and vegetation was originally an Arkadian mountain spirit and a generative daimon of flock and herd who later became a full fledged deity famed for his skill on the pipes. He had mantic powers and was even credited with having instructed Apollo in prophecy (Apollodorus 1.22) but in certain aspects he was supposed to cause panic nightmares and disease.⁷

With the nymph Acheloo and Kephisos he represented the hygiene of nature at Oropos (Pausanias I.33.4) he tamed the pestilence at Troizen by means of his dream oracle (ibid. II.33.6) and at Sikyon the porch of the Aklēpseion was flanked by the figure of Pan and Artemis (ibid. II.1.2). The epithet Paimon was applied to him in the Orphic Hymn (xi.11). Pan had several oracles scattered throughout Greece one of which at Lykaion and another at Akakeion were especially well known (Pausanias VIII.33.5 VIII.33.11-12) and at the latter he was assisted by the nymph priestess Erato while his oracle was powerful in accomplishing men's prayers.

PERSEPHONE

PERSEPHONE, the daughter of Zeus and Demeter and the queen of the Underworld was the wife of Hades who had found her gathering narcissus in a meadow and had carried her off to his subterranean realm (Hesiod *Theog.* 913 Pausanias IX.33.9) but in deference to the sorrow and complaint of Demeter Zeus enforced a compromise by which Persephone passed the winter with Hades and the remainder of the year with her mother on earth. As the queen of the infernal mansion of Hades

⁷ Grupp *op. cit.*, p. 195

he wa the dre d Per ephone (Hesiod *ib*, 768) while on earth he wa the maiden Kore and intimately a o ciated with Demeter as a godde of vegetation in the pring The cult of Demeter Kore which included the My terie of Eleu 1 and the great Eleu mian fe tival pre ented perhap the mo t eriou a pect of Greek reli giou life and wa the most prominent and popular in Greece tho e who had been initiated and had witne ed the e my terie being bles ed among men Persephone appear in the Roman pantheon a Pro rpina

A a healing deity Persephone wa a o ciated with Hade at the variou Ploutonia and Charoneia in Greece and Asia Minor the mo t prominent being in the Mai n dro valley and the be t known being t Acharaka (Strabo XIV 1 44 pp 649 650 C) Beautiful temple were dedicated to her in Lokri and at Ky iko on the Proponti while in Aigina Epidauro and Troi en he wa known and worshipped with Demeter a a child birth godde in the cult of Dam 1 and Auxe ia and in thi spect he wa given the epithet Cheirogonia (Hesychio *s v*) At Patrai and el ewhere he received the epithet *soteira* (avior)

POSEIDON

Po idon wa one of the Olympian circle nd a god of the ea and all fre h water whom the Roman called Nep tunus Hi association with the healing art is light nd the inference concerning the healing practice of his cult may be illusory On the island of Teno which wa an A ylum he wa called *iатros* (Philochoro in *Frag hist Gr*, 1 414) and thi fact ha be n con idered a ug ge ting that the priest of his cult practiced he ling at

Fox *op cit*, pp 230 231 Grupp *op cit*, p 1182 r g rd h
th cr e nt oo
Grupp *op ct*, p 1175

the health resort situated there ⁴⁰ As tending to confirm this inference the Temians had a tradition that Machaon and Podaleirios were the sons of Poseidon (Eustathio on *Il*, xi 515) There are trace of a belief that he made the insane to whinney like horse and that he was one of the deities who caused epilepsy (Hippokrate *de Morb Sac*, 2) ⁴¹

PROMETHEUS

PROMETHEUS seem originally to have been a deity of fire particularly in it beneficent and helpful aspect and later to have been conceived as a creator divinity of the divine myth group while finally he was held to typify the endeavor of man to gain enlightenment by subduing the forces of nature to his will and controlling them for his own purpose A referring to creation according to a legend of the Alexandrian period probably of Babylonian origin, he mixed earth and water and making it plausible fashioned man having summoned Athena to aid in the work (Lucian *Prometheus*, 13 Horace *Carmina*, I 16 Hyginus *Fabulae*, 142) The most popular legend concerning him relates that he stole from Hephaistos the fire of heaven which Zeus had withheld from mortals and concealing it in a fennel stalk he brought it to man, thus incurring the wrath of the god (Herodotus *Op et Dies*, 50) In punishment Zeus had chained him to a rock but Herakles broke his shackles and set him free

Prometheus was associated with the early Greek art of healing and Aeschylus (*Prometheus Vinculus* 478 ff) declare that he taught mankind not only divination but

⁴⁰ *F r n ll op cit* iv 13

⁴¹ *Ada op cit*, ii 337

⁴ Grupp, *op cit*, pp 441 442 1024 1026 1402 *F x op cit*, pp 12 14 Cook *Zeus*, i, 325 330

also the mixing of gentle remedies to replace the drug which hitherto had made sufferers pine away. Mention is also made of a Promethian alve (possibly in origin a remedy for the venom of serpents) ⁴ with which Ison was anointed by Medea before ploughing the magic field to gain the Golden Fleece (Apollonio Rhodios III 845 Valeriu Flaccus VII 355).

At Athen he had an altar in common with Heph 1 to and Athen (Ly imacho in *Frag hist Gr*, III 341) and he was honored by a festival called the Prometheia (Xenophon *Repubblica Athenensium*, III 4).

RHEA

RHEA, the wife of Kronos and the mother of Zeus and other Olympian deities represented the same fundamental conception of the Great Mother the Mother of the Gods the mighty earth goddess of fertility and maternity of Oriental nations so that she was identified with the Phrygian Kybele their name being used indistinguishably in literature to denote the same divine personality and cult ⁴⁴ Modern investigation at Knossos tends strongly to indicate that she was of Cretan origin ⁴ Her cult was emotional with pronounced orgiastic and mystic features which were represented by the noisy band of Korybantes her servants with whom the Kouretes and Daktyloi were associated.

There is little trace of definite healing in her cult except that she invented liniment for relieving the pain of children and had many remedies for them. It was supposed that the music and dancing of her followers the Korybantes relieved mental terror vagaries and other nervous disorders.

⁴ Grupp *op cit*, p 573

⁴⁴ Fränkel *op cit*, III 28 ff

⁴ Ib., III 292 ff

SABAZIOS

SABAZIOS was a deity of Thracian (or Phrygian) origin who gave life to all nature and whose mystic and orgiastic cult was so similar to that of Dionysos that his name was regarded by many as merely an appellative of that divinity whence the two were identified as Dionysos Sabaios⁴ while Strabo (XIII 15 p 470 C) says that he may be considered a son of the great Mother Goddess. His cult appeared in Athens about the fifth century B.C. attaching itself to that of Kybele and Attis and in Asia being finally merged with that of Kybele. Perseus initiated into the Mysteries of Sabazios wore his symbol, an ornamental golden snake on their robe over the breast and Frazer⁴⁷ suggests that this may be a trace of the belief that women could be impregnated by serpent. Notwithstanding harsh criticism and opposition because of its mystic and their orgiastic features the worship gained popularity but its festivals the Sabazia were held at night and eventually women took part in them with the Gallois in such a licentious manner that the cult was not considered respectable (Aristophanes *Vespæ*, 9 Demosthenes *de Corona*, 266). It prospered for a time but disappeared about the beginning of the Christian era. Sabaios was a healing deity but was regarded as an import and a churlish imitator of Asclepius. He is represented as healing by the laying on of hands and aided child birth in this manner.

SARAPIS

SARAPIS was a foreign deity allied with Isis whose cult

⁴ Frazer II *op cit*, III 297 v 4ff cf also Grapp *op cit*, pp 1532 1533 Krtschmer *op cit*, pp 195 19

⁴⁷ *Adonis*, I 90, note 4

⁴ Cf *pra*, pp 284 285

⁴ Winer *ich*, *op cit*, p 18

wa brought to Greece during the latter half of the fourth century B C through the influence of Ptolemy I. He wa a yncrētīc creation of the Græco Egyptian period by ome regarded as a fusion of Hade with the Egyptian O or Hap (Osiri Apī) and by other held to be none other than the great Babylonian healing divinity E of Erdu *sar apsi*, God of the Watery Deep.⁵⁰ It has been said that Sarapī had a Greek body haunted by an Egyptian soul.⁵

Sarapī wa an iatromantic deity who gained favor by the use of divination principally by the dream oracle or incubation.¹ Suppliant incubated for them elve or their friend and priest who might al o incubate for their patient interpreted the dream and announced the re ults with direction to be followed a though possessed or inspired by the god. The cult made uch rapid headway in Greece largely because of its readiness to grant favor to its uppliant that at one time its popularity and influence threatened the preeminence of the Asklepiōn cult but its practice and mysterious caus ed scandal brought it into disrepute and aroused active opposition.

The healing method of Sarapī and Asklepiōn who were very like Asklepiō and Hygieia bore a strong resemblance to those of Asklepiō and their worship were not antagonistic. There were indication of the use of hypnosis in cultic practice incubation was a feature in both (Diodoro 1.25) the general type and divinity of Asklepiō and Sarapī were similar the staff and the serpent were symbols of both and a Asklepieia (500-19) was

¹ Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination*, III 378, 10. Gruppe *op cit*, pp 157-1580. Cumont *op cit*, pp 74 ff. J. G. Miln *Graeco Egyptian Religion* in *ERE* VI 376-37.

⁵⁰ Gruppe *op cit*, p 931. H. Milton *op cit*, pp 62-8, 107.

W. Inge *op cit*, pp 117 ff.

them in a vision they were wonderfully like each other Demetrios of Phaleron wrote pæan as votive offering in honor of Sarapis in gratitude for the restoration of his sight (Diogenes Laertios v, 76)

The temple of Sarapis and Isis (the Sarapeia and I idea) were very similar to the Asklepieia Sarapis had a temple at Athen (Pausanias, I, xviii, 4) and Sparta (ib, III xiv 5) as well as many other throughout Greece while at Boiai both Asklepios and Sarapis had temples not far distant from each other (ib, III xxii 13) and in the shrine of Apollo at Aigeira the statue of Sarapis and Isis were placed near that of Asklepios (ib, VII xxvi 7) A priest of Asklepios in Dacii dedicated a tablet to Sarapis (CIL III 1 973) and the name of both gods have been found joined on the same coin

TELESPHOROS

TELESPHORO, a minor deity and a sort of familiar attached to the cult of Asklepios and although mentioned about the time of Hadrian was probably a very old figure for whose representation the Greek adopted that of the Egyptian Harpokrates It appears that the Greek admired this divinity (Harpokrates Horus the Child) represented as a lame undeveloped child sitting on a lotos leaf with his finger to his lip and adopted the figure but changed the figure and set up a statue to him under the name of Telesphoros Euamerion and Akei the attitude symbolizing the reserve customary concerning divine mysteries (Plutarch *de Iside et Osiride* 19 68) * It is inferred that the priest attached him to Asklepios and Hygieia as having an in

Gruppe *op cit*, p 1579

* Cf Müller, *Mythology, Egyptian*, pp 117 243 also Miln in *ERE* vi 379 380, Gruppe *op cit*, pp 1562 1563 Schenck *D Telesphoro Deo*, Gottingen 1888

fluence over healing and a suggestion the silence and secrecy which must be observed in respect to medical practice whence he was called Sigalo (Silent) and physician wore by him to hold inviolate the secret of their profession He was worshipped at Pergamon and elsewhere along the coast of Asia Minor and was identified with Euamerion of Titane and Akesi of Epidauro (Pausanias II xi 7) while at the latter site an inscription has been found in honor of Asklepios [and] Hygieia Telesphoroi⁷ In a poem in his honor² he is called bringer of life (zoophoros) but later his name came to mean ventriloquist (e.g. *Etymologia magna*, s.v.)

Telesphoros is seldom referred to in literature and the most of the information concerning him comes from monuments and coins which indicate that his worship was prevalent throughout Asia Minor spreading from Pergamon where he was especially revered and extending to Athens and Epidauro His functions are not clearly understood but from the accepted meaning of his name Accomplisher it has been assumed that he was the god of convalescence and possibly an incubation spirit and it is known that patients at the sanctuaries sacrificed to him during their recovery At Pergamon he gave Arieteide a healing balsam which was applied in the bath

Sprugel *op cit*, i 136

Grupp *op cit*, p 1455 Unger *op cit*, pp 170 171

⁷ Baumeister in *SGAS*, 188 i 9 (cf. other inscription, mentioning the name of Telesphoros ib, pp 91 3 98)

Kaibel, in *Epigrammata Graeca ex apudis collecta*, no 1027 li 43

Prof L H Gray suggests that the bringing of the health which brings the perfect and that he was an old 'deprived' god who put the finishing touch to healing already practically complete

W Wroth 'Telesphoros' i *JHS*, 1882 iii 2 3 ff also J Ziehen *Studien und Aufklarung* i *MAIA*, 1892 vii 241

while passing from the hot to the cold water¹ and Marmos (*Vita Prokli*, 7) relates that the boy first to be appeared to the philosopher Proklos in a vision while he was dangerously ill and touched his forehead where upon he was straightway made whole. Telesphoros in a later period is represented on monuments and coins as a child wearing a hood and a long cloak which cover his whole figure except the face and he appears either alone with Asklepios with Hygieia or with both. His worship was recognized in Athens by a religious society named in his honor the Ephebe of Telesphoros (*CIA* III 1 1159).

I am now a hypothetical son of Asklepios (Scholion on Aristophanes *Plut*, 701) was another child divinity associated with the cult one of whom little is known and whose functional relation is obscure. On coin and in marble he is represented as a small boy nude or lightly clad standing by the side of the god or alone holding some animal most frequently a goose sometimes used as a symbol of healing power.

THEMIS

THEMIS was the mother of the Horai and the Moirai (Heiod *Theog*, 901-906) and a birth goddess receiving the epithet Themis Eileithyia (Nonnos *Dionysiaca*, xli 162). At Troizen she was worshipped in the plural as the Themides and the countless nymph the Themistades (Pausanias II xxxi 5) and she received the oracle at Delphi from her mother Earth but was dismissed by Apollo or he passed it to Phoibe who pre-

¹ Bouché-Latréolle *op cit*, III 302

Holland *op cit*, pp 126 ff

Dindorf, *op cit*, IV 228-230

Holland *op cit*, pp 150 ff

A. S. H. in *Puly W. ow* VI 178 d 1 52

ented it to Apollo a birthday gift (A1 chylo *Eumen*
 2 4 Strabo IX iii, 11 p 422 C)

TROPHONIOS

TROPHONIOS, a chthonic deity who presided over celebrated oracle at Lebadeia in Boiotia was according to Pausania (IX xxxvii 4 5) and Strabo (IX iii 9 p 421 C) like his brother Agamede builder who erected temple of Apollo at Delphi and a treasury for Hyrieu. He was reputed to have been a divinity of the Phlegyan and Cicero (*op cit*, iii 22) give him the same general ancestry as Aklepios. Late authors have questioned the propriety of considering him a god but Celsus classed him with other chthonic healing deities such as Amphiaraus and Mopos (Origene *contra Celsum* vii 35) while Lucian (*Dialogi Mortuorum*, iii) spoke of him as compounded of man and god. Farnell calls him a faded deity.

Trophonios had the same tribute as Aklepios and the ceremonies of his cult were said to have been first picture of the early ritual of Aklepios who had a shrine at Orchomeno in the same neighborhood but his healing function appears never to have been developed beyond the primitive stage and to have receded as the role of Aklepios grew in importance. His oracle was near Lebadeia in a grotto on the side of a hill above the Herkyna river where were images of the god and his daughter Herkyna with serpents coiled around their scepters so that they may have been taken for Aklepios and Hygieia. In the grove was a temple with statue of Trophonios by Praxiteles that resembled Aklepios and there were also other shrines one to Demeter Europa and one to Apollo well as images of Kronos, Hera and Zeus (Pausanias IX xxxix 4 5).

Those intending to consult the oracle whether for healing or other reason (*ib.*, IV xxxii 5) lodged for several days in a building sacred to the Good Daimon and Good Fortune and observed rules of purity avoiding hot baths, bathing in the Herkyna river and sacrificing to the several gods, to Zeus Basileus, Hera the charioteer and others.¹ A soothsayer inspected the entrails of a victim to learn if the suppliant would be graciously received by the deity and on the evening before going to the cave Agamedea was honored by the sacrifice of a ram whose entrails must tell the same tale to give the suppliant hope. Those who consulted the oracle paid a silver coin into the treasury and offered ten cakes (*CIGGS* 3055). Anointed by boys he was then led by priests to two springs where he drank first of the water of Forgetfulness and next of the water of Memory (*Frazer op cit.*, v 198-204. *Pliny op cit.*, xxxi 5). Dressed in white, bound with fillet and wearing native boots, the suppliant now approached the oracle and holding in his hand barley cake kneaded with honey as a sacrifice to the serpent (Aristophanes *Nubes*, 508) he descended feet first into the cave. To come it was given to see and to others to hear the oracle which was delivered by serpents. After staying in the cave a varying length of time, sometimes more than a day, the suppliant returned and he entered feet first and was received by the priests who seated him in the chair of Memory questioning him to all he had seen and heard. Later, till overpowered by fear and quite unconscious, he was given into the hands of his friend and returned to the House of the

¹ *Frazer* II, *Cults*, 1 194

² *Frazer* gives additional details and references

For the incubation of the Trophonic cult see Hamilton *op cit.*, pp 93

Good Daimon and Good Fortune where he recovered his wit and finally his power of laughter

ZEUS

ZEUS the overruler of the Greek pantheon and the chief of the Olympian circle of deities was the god of the heaven the potential ruler of the universe the father of gods and men and the undisputed master of lightning and thunder who in his wrath used the thunderbolt weapon of punishment He was the bringer of both good and evil and could assume the function of all other divinities since his will was supreme

The most ancient shrine of Zeus and the most venerable oracle in Greece was at Dodona in Epeiros (Herodotus II 52 ff) where there was a celebrated oak sacred to him which Sophokles called the many-tongued oak (*Trach*, 1148) and which was commonly termed the whispering or talking oak, since the rustling of its leaves and the murmuring of the waters beneath it were believed to be the voice of the god His priests the *selloi* of women without number interpreted the sound as prophecies and instructions and inscribed many of the divine decrees on tablets of lead Recent excavations have unearthed a large number of these plates inscribed with questions and prayers to Zeus Naio and Dione and some replicas of these oracles from a site supposed to be that of the old sanctuary⁷⁰ These practices (*Il*, xvi 235) are assumed to be evidences of incubation in the primitive cult and the inscription indicates that the oracle was consulted by persons from far and near both for personal and for state affairs⁷¹ as when Odysseus inquired of it to learn

⁷⁰ Carapano *Dodone et ses ruines*, I 83 Pl. t. 343

⁷¹ Grupp, *op. cit.*, p. 355

how he should return home (*Odys*, xiv 327 xix 296)
 At Dodona Zeus appear a in the earlier stage of his
 development half barbarian whereas at Olympia he was
 the center of the beauty, fancy and greater activities of
 the Greek life of the late centuries.⁷ His statue there was
 the highest expression of Greek art and was eagerly visited
 by persons from every part of Greece and was wonder-
 ingly admired by all (Pausanias V xi, 1)

Zeus was regarded as the helper of weak and unfortu-
 nate humanity and he was given many epithets among
 them being Paian at Rhodes (Hesychios s.v. Παι ν Ζεύς)
 and *apotropaios* (avertor of ill) at Erythrai both ex-
 pressive of the same idea of the deity.⁷ but as a healer
 he generally delegated his powers to others for prophe-
 cy although the sick consulted his oracle at Dodona.⁷
 He was the divine physician at Rhodes while votive
 tablets models of limbs dedicated to him in gratitude for
 healing have been found at Athens in the Pnyx (*CIA* iii
 150 156) and also in Melos.⁷ The allotment of a part of
 the altar at the Amphiareion at Oropos established his
 association with healing there (Pausanias I xxxiv 3)
 Pausanias (V v 5) intimates that Zeus Leukaios he led
 leprosy at Lepreos though this inference is disputed.⁷
 and he was also known as a god who aided childbirth and
 he led by the laying on of hands being assisted in this
 phase of his character by Epaphros being called Zeus
 Epaphros and receiving the epithet Hyperdexion.⁷⁷

⁷ Gardner *op cit*, p 407

⁷ Farnell *op cit*, i 67

⁷ *Ib*, i 40

⁷ Pausanias in *ABAW*, 1843 p 258

⁷ Thersites, i *ERE* vi, 545 note

⁷⁷ Weinreich *op cit*, p 41 also Grupp, *op cit*, p 0

DEMIGODS HEROES AND HEROINES ASSOCIATED
WITH HEALING

Achille	Dexion	Mop o
Agamede	The Dio kouroi	Mou aio
Amphilochos	Helena	Oione
Amyno (Alkon)	Hero Iatro	Polydo
Antikyreo	The Korybante	Protesilaos
Api	The Kourete	Toxari
Arionomachos	Medeia	[Glykon the f l god or hero]
Baki	Melampou	
Cheiron	Molpadia Hem	
Th Daktyloi	thea	

*Supplementary List Personalities not Discussed*⁷

Ake i	Epimenide	Ion	Paionaios
Ake ida	Eribote	Iphykle	Panakei
Alexanor	Euro to	Kairo	Peleu
Alxida	Gorgaso	Kalch	Perimede
Alkeid	Hktor	Lino	Phoko
Alkmen	I pi	Medeio	Polyd ma
Amphitrit	I on	Medo	Prokri
D rron	Ia (i)o	Nikom cho	Sphyro
Dione	Ichnaia	Ody eu	Telamon
Epimed	Idas	Or ilocheia	Teukro

ACHILLES

ACHILLES, a celebrated hero of the Trojan War and pupil of Chiron was not merely killed in healing but also taught other the art (*Il*, xi, 832). In Eli he worshipped a hero possessing mantic power (P u

⁷ Note Theocritus of the hero's domain and why
there with his gift of light and so on except for the
and of Alkibiades' Pankratis and the of Melanion but there work
of the letter Alkibiades sufficiently indicates that

nia VI xxiii 3) and he had a dream hrine at Leuke (Arriano *Periplus*, xxiii) though thi was concerned with ea traffic rather than with healing

The Sosia bowl repre ent him bandaging Patroklos⁷ appearing in a vi ion he healed Leonymo, the boxer (Tertullian *de Anima*, xlv) and only the ru t from hi pear which had inflicted the wound could heal Telepho (cf Pau ania III iii 8) He is also mentioned in connection with the therapeutic heroines Medeia (Ibyko *Frag*, xxxvii Simonide *Frag*, cexiii Lykophron 174) Helena (Philostrato *Heroica* xix 15 16) and Iphigenei Or ilocheia (Eu tathios on *Il* iv, 306)

AGAMEDE

AGAM DE, the daughter of Augea a prince of Elis wa a orcere and one who well under tood a m ny drug a the wid earth nour he (*Il*, xi 739)

AMPHILOCHOS

AMPHILOCHOS, the on of Amphiarao nd one of the heroes of the Theban War inherited the mantic facultie of hi father with whom he was wor hipped at the s ne tuary of Oropo as a healing hero his oracle like those of hi sire being imparted by dreams (Tertullian *op cit*, xlv) Dion Kas io lxxii 7) He joined with Mopso one of hi companion in the Theban War to found the city of Mallo in Cilicia where they set up a healing hrine (Strabo XIV v 16 p 675 C) and Pausania ay (I xxxiv 3) that this oracle was con idered the mo t infallible of that day

AMYNOS (ALKON)

AMYNOS (Averter) wa healing hero or a demigod who wa wor hipped at Athens before the arrival of

⁷ Mull r Wi l r *De kmaler der te Kunst*, Pl t 45 no 210

Aklepios and whose cult appear to have been associated (or confused) with that of a legendary therapeutic hero Alkon of whom little is known except that he was reared together with Asklepios by Cheiron (*Vita Sophocles*, 11) and who is supposed to have occupied a *temenos* at Athens.^o The origin of Amynos and his cult is unknown and it is said that he is not mentioned in Greek literature or by any of the Christian fathers except Eusebios. He had been forgotten until excavations by the German Archeological Institute in 1895 disclosed a precinct on the western slope of the Akropolis between the Areiopagos and the Pnyx with an inscription to healing divinity named Amynos. The precinct was an irregular quadrangle about sixty-two feet long by forty-two wide. It contained a well and the foundation of an old chapel the style of masonry suggesting that it was of the date of Peisistratos (eventh century B.C.) and that it was constructed on the site of a previous temple dating back possibly to 1000 B.C. Remains of the older as well as the later style of pottery were discovered with anatomical votive offerings in marble and bronze relief the latter being of the usual character proving that the serpent was the symbol of the hero while one of them represents a goddess probably Hygieia standing by a wreathed altar receiving homage from a train of suppliant with a child. The evidence indicates that Amynos was held in high esteem but they do not give any intimation of his method of healing or whether or not incubation was used except that one tablet shows a man and woman approaching the god with hands raised in the attitude of supplication (Frazer *op cit*, v 499-500).¹

Amynos had failed to avert an existing pestilence and it was determined to bring Asklepios who had gained an

Walton, *op cit*, pp 29-30

¹ Kort in *MAIA*, 1893 xviii 231-256 189, i, 287-3

enormous prestige in the Peloponnesos to Athens and it is believed that he was first made a guest at the *temenos* of Amynos and that later he absorbed the cult. Inscription of about the fourth century B.C., found in the *temenos*, indicate that Asklepios was also worshipped there, though as a secondary deity and that there was also a third divinity called Dexion (*qv*) who had a separate chapel. It is assumed that as the fame of Asklepios increased in Athens Amynos faded until he was forgotten. The hero Alkon had a shrine at Sparta.

ANTI KYREOS

ANTI KYREOS was a Greek healing hero who was reputed to have discovered hellebore in Phokis and with it to have cured Herakles of madness.

APIS

APIS, king of Argos, founder of the city of Apia in Argolis and a *iatromantis* who had freed himself of monster was a son of Apollo who came from Naupakto to Argolis where he settled and cured its people whence it was called the Apian land (*Aichylos Supphces*, 250-260). He seems to have been in reality a hypostasis of Asklepios, his name being abbreviated from Apiodoro (Giving Mild Gift).

ARISTOMACHOS

ARISTOMACHOS, a *heros iatros* of ancient Greece and recognized as such at the Dionyseion at Marathon had a healing shrine at that place and was worshipped at his grave.

Harrison *Prolegomena*, pp. 345-346.

Panofsky, in *ABAW*, 1843-257 ff.

⁴ Grupp, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 1441, 1452.

Thraupner in *ERE* vi, 553.

BAKIS

BAKIS, one of the most distinguished seer of Greece was a diviner and a purifier while his reputation as a prophet almost equalled that of Melampous. He was said to be possessed by nymph (Pausanias X. xii. 11. Aristophanes *Pax*, 1071) and his oracle in hexameter like those of Delphos and the Sibyl of Cumae were later collected (Pausanias IV. xxvii. 4. 5). Though a Boeotian seer he was held in high esteem in Athens and since both Athenians and Arkadians boasted of having a seer named Baki (Suda s. v. Β'κις) it is entirely probable that the appellation became a collective for a family or was adopted by others.

The Boeotian Baki is reputed to have cured a Lakedaemonian of a mental disorder by mysterious ceremonies and he was recommended by Apollo Pythios as one who could purify the Lakedaemonian women of the madness that possessed them (Suda loc. cit.)

CHEIRON

CHEIRON, one of the most celebrated heroes of ancient Greece the most just and wise of the centaurs (*Il.*, xi. 830) and great hunter lived in a cave on Mount Pelion in Thessaly until driven out by the Lapithae when he found refuge in the mountains of Lakonia (Apollodorus ii. 5). Although generally ranked as a hero he was a local divinity possibly very primitive or pre-Hellenic god whose cult was absorbed by Asklepios. The name derived from a root meaning hand may have referred to his skill in the arts or the hand which he used with magic healing effect. Cheiron was learned in all branches of human knowledge and was the reputed master of such sciences as botany prophecy healing music (Plutarch *de Mus.*,

Winreich *op. cit.*, p. 1

40) a tronomy and legislation while many of the Greek heroes were his pupils among them Achilles Aktaion Ka tor Polydeukes, Aristaos Theseus Amphiaraos Ia on Nestor Telamon Teukros Peleus Ody eu nd Ameias Accidentally wounded by a poi oned arrow from the bow of Herakles Cheiron transferred hi immortality to Prometheu (Apollodoro , *loc cit*) and wa placed by Zeu among the tars a Sagittariu thu being deified and ometime classed a a god (Sophokle *op cit* , 714 715)

Cheiron in tructed Herakle and A klepio in the art of healing Pindar ing hi prai e (*op cit* , iii 45 67) and ums up his in truction to A klepio whom he re ceived babe a he ling by urgery internal medic tion and incantations He knew the medicinal properti of all plant and root a well a their application (*Il* iv 219 xi 830 832) nd was, accordingly wor hipped by th Magne i n who acrificed the fir t fruit of plant to him a a divine phy ician (Plutarch *Quæstiones conviviales*, III 1 3) and hi teaching applied by hi pupil during the Trojan War and their de cendant were without magic (*Il* ib) He iod wrote a poem concerning the Precept of Cheiron for the in truction of Achille (Pau ania IX xxxi 5 cf *Frag hist Gr* , 182 185) Cheiron cured Phoinix of a blindne that wa thought to be incur ble (Apollodoros iii 13) in arch ic time he wa cla sed as a birth god possibly becau e of hi pain allaying hand (*IG XI* iii 360) and he wa regarded as the discoverer of the healing art (Hyginu *op cit* , 274 Pliny *op cit* , vii 196) A tribe inhabiting the region of Mount Pelion claimed de cent from him and maintained that their knowledge of herb and healing wa hereditary and aced

Cheiron wa a pecialist in herb lore and repre ent the true forerunner of the rational school of therapeutic

in its transition from the occult to practical medicine which Hippokrates ought to establish

THE DAKTYLOI

THE DAKTYLOI were fabulous beings who lived about Mount Ida in Phrygia or Crete were superhuman in strength and were numbered from one to one hundred. The discovery of iron on Mount Ida was ascribed to them (Frazer *op cit*, III 484) and they were killed by fire but they were also the servants of Rhea Kybele and were connected with her orgiastic Phrygian rite whence they were related to or identical with the Kourete the Korybantes and the Telchines (Pausanias VII 6 Strabo X III 7 22 pp 466 473 C). Like the group the Idaian Daktuloi were famous magicians and practiced the art of healing by magic possibly after the style of medicine men.

DEXION

DEXION was the king-hero who was worshipped with Amyntos and Asklepios at the Athenian Amyntion. Sophokles⁷ had been a priest of Amyntion had been influential in bringing Asklepios to Athens and on arrival had entertained him at his home (which may have been the *temenos* on the western slope of the Akropolis at which it may be assumed Asklepios was kept until the Asklepieion on the southern slope had been prepared). After death the poet was heroized under the name of Dexion (*Etymol. mag.*, s.v. Δξίων) and gave distinction to the Amyntion Asklepieion (Marino *op cit*, 29).

THE DIOSKOUROI

THE DIOSKOUROI, better known as Kastor and Polydeukos were twin sons of Zeus being regarded as the

⁷ Harrison *op cit*, p 345

father of Polydeukes and Tyndareus of Kastor though they are frequently referred to as the sons of either They excelled in athletics and feats of arms and were known for their bravery and dexterity, while at Sparta they were the exponents of heroic virtue and valor In Lakonia and in Arkadia they were ranked as gods (Pausania III xiii 1 VIII ii 4) They were not only given the epithet *soteres* (e.g. Theokritos xx 6) but were also termed guardians (*anakes*, e.g. Plutarch *Theseus* xxxiii), and in this character they were identified with the Kabeiroi as protecting seamen from dangers¹ In Athens their sanctuary was known as the Anakeion (Frazer *op cit*, iii 164)

The Dioskouroi were healers and their cult widely diffused was very popular in the late period their cures being performed through incubation and the interpretation of dreams (*Faghist Gr*, iv 149-15) There is a possibility that they were sometimes regarded as helpers in childbirth² In the late Roman period their principal temples were in Byzantium and Rome

HELENA

HELENA, whose name implies was a moon goddess who was worshipped in the Peloponnese (though possibly tree spirit or a local daemon only)¹ and who in Homeric mythology was the daughter of Zeus and Leda sister of Kastor and Polydeukes and one of the most beautiful women of ancient Greece Paris stole her from Menelaos her husband and carried her off to Ilium thus causing the Trojan War

For this meaning see Schulz *op cit*, p. 505

For II 1 *ERE* vii 30

Gruppe *op cit*, pp. 1-2 860

¹ Pala Hro and Hro God (Greek and Roman) in *ERE* vi 654

Helena was a healer who was skilled in the knowledge of the medicinal qualities of plants and used nepenthe a soporific akin to opium and relieving sorrow and mourning of which she learned from the Egyptian Polydama and which she gave to Telemachus (Herodotus ii 116 *Odys*, iv 219 ff) She is said to have changed an ugly child into a beautiful woman (Herodotus vi 61)

HEROS IATROS

In the vicinity of the Theseion at Athens was a temple to Hero Iatro (Demosthenes *Orat*, xviii 129 xix 249) who is referred to as the Hero of the city in an Eleusinian inscription of the fifth century B.C. (*CIA* iv 286 a p 145 f) Whether this dedication was in honor of a definite personality or of an abstract character is not known but the inscription shows that the cult was not overshadowed by that of Asklepios and that it was flourishing in the third century C. (*CIA* ii 403 404) Silver offerings to the divinity were melted down into sacred vessels from time to time

THE KORYBANTES

The Korybantes were daimones or a mythical people of uncertain origin who later were intimately connected with the cult of Rhea Kybele as her servants and priests especially as regarded her healing function probably in the cathartic sense as medicine men driving away sickness and evil spirits They were associated and perhaps identical with the Kourete the Idaian Daktyloi and the Telchines (Strabo X iii 7 21 22 pp 466 473 C) and were prominent in the public festivals and procession of Rhea Kybele appearing in women's garb

Unger, *op cit*, pp 149 153

J E Harrison The Kourites and Korybantes *ERE* vii 75

ment with drums and cymbal dancing through the streets and conducting the orgiastic rites of the cult

THE KOURETES

THE KOURETES were daimons or a mythical people of Oriental origin and to have been brought to Greece by Deukalion and to have been the original inhabitant of Akarnania and Aitolia. They were identified with the Korybante the Telchine of Rhode and the Idaian D ktyloi as servant of Rhea Kybele who entrusted the infant Zeus to the Cretan Kourete for protection from Kronos (Pausanias V vii 6). A followers of Rhea Kybele they had their head and wearing women garment assisted at the festival of the goddess in conducting the noisy orgiastic Phrygian rite of her worship (Strabo X iii 19-22 pp 472-473 C). They were the juggler of Crete but were active in advancing the art of civilization and taught the healing art ⁴

MEDEIA

MED IA, whose name connects her with such healer as Agamede Epimede Perimede and her son Medon. According to the usual version of her legend the daughter of Aietes King of Kolchis a priestess of Hekate and a witch celebrated for her skill in magic and sorcery. She fell in love with Iason (also in origin a healing hero as his name implies and the son of Polyimede) to whom she gave not only a magic salve which protected him from iron and fire but also a magic potion with which to put the dragon to sleep thus securing the Golden Fleece. She then fled with Iason whose wife she became.

⁴ Harrison in *ERE* vii, 758-759

Unger *op cit*, pp 160-163

Evidently a healing heroine of much importance in the earlier period Medea was reputed to be especially skilled in the knowledge of drugs (Pindar *op cit*, iv 233) She cured Herakles of his madness (Diodoro iv 55) and rejuvenated Laon's aged father She was apotheosized at Corinth (Scholion on Euripides *Medea* 10) and at Antioch a famous statue was erected in her honor (Malalas p 263) She is said to have discovered colchicum

MELAMPOUS

MELAMPOUS, one of the most celebrated seer of ancient Hellas was said to have been the first Greek endowed with prophetic power He lived before Aegleus at a time variously estimated at from 150 to 500 years before the Trojan War or as more definitely stated about 1400 B.C. He was an Argolian shepherd whose ears according to the legend were cleaned by a serpent while he slept in the field and he thus gained remarkable perception understanding the language of animals interpreting the song of birds and acquiring the gift of prophecy The name became collective for his family and descendants many of whom were prophets (*Odys*, xv 225) and healers Polypo his nephew and Amphiaraos his grandson while his lineage was divided into two branches the Iamid and Klytid the Elean seer (Iamid) being most famous⁹ It is claimed that Melampus was deified but it appears more probable that he ranked as a hero or a demigod

Melampus who possessed the knowledge of all remedies was the first Greek physician and was called divine He had a sanctuary at Aigosthena where a yearly festival

⁹Grupp, *op cit*, p 54

⁷Hildy *op cit*, p 95

val was held in hi honor but where no divination wa practiced either by dreams or in any other way (Pau sanias I xlv 5) He was famous for his cure of in amty healing the women of Aigina of madness and being granted a large share of the kingdom in recom pen e (Herodotos, ix 34) He gained his greate t fame however by curing the daughters of Proito of their mad nes by the use of hellebore which was named melampo dion after him Pliny says (*op cit*, xxv 21) that they were healed by the milk of goats fed upon melampodion and Ovid (*op cit*, xv 326 ff) that they were cured by herbs and incantations It 1 claimed that this took place at Sikyon (Pau anias II vii 8) at the Anigrian spring into which Melampou threw the thing u ed for their purification thu giving the water its bad odor (*ib*, V v 10 Strabo VIII iii 19 p 346 C) or a more gen erally accepted at the sanctuary of Artemi at Lou oi (Pau ania , VIII, xviii 7) where the water had been polluted in the same manner o that persons drinking them lo t their ta te for wine and could not bear the mell of it (Frazer *op cit*, iv 259) A reward Proito gave Melampou one of hi daughter Iphiana sa in mar riage as well as large part of hi kingdom Melampou 1 reputed to have vi ited Egypt and to have brought back the orgia tic nd mystic rite of Diony os (Herodo to ii 49)

MOLPADIA HEMITHEA

MOLPADIA HEMITH A wa the daughter of Staphylo of Thrace While she and her sister Partheno were guard ing her father wine pots they broke and to avoid hi wrath they threw themselves into the sea Molpadia being later accorded divine honor and becoming celebrated for her dream oracle A temple was erected to her at Kasta bo in the Thracian Cherone e which became popular

re ort for invalids to whom the means of cure were indicated by incubation. She gained great repute for her assistance in child birth and was appealed to especially by women who feared the difficulty and danger of labor (Diodoro v 62)

MOPSOS

MOPSOS, the son of a Cretan seer named Rhakios was one of the heroes of the Theban War and later joined Amphilochos in founding the city of Mallos in Cilicia where they set up an oracle. Mopsos worshipped a healing hero both at Mallos and at Oropos and was a prophet superior to Kalchas who died of chagrin when he realized his defeat (Strabo XIV i 27 XIV v 16 pp 642 675 C)

MOUSAIOS

MOUSAIOS, a mythical bard seer and priest of pre-Homeric time was the son of Orpheus and Selene or a sometime claimed of Eumolpos and he was usually considered as one of the Eumolpidae.

Aristophanes (*Ranæ*, 1033) makes Alcibiades say that Mousaios taught oracles and the healing of diseases.

OINONE

OINONE, a daughter of the river god Kebren and a rival of Helena for the love of Paris had been given the art of prophecy and had received from Apollo the knowledge of healing herbs (Parthenios, *Erotica*, iv Ovid *Heroides*, v 145 148). She alone could heal Paris when wounded by Philoktetes but he refused to go to him. Repenting he arrived too late and in her sorrow ended her own life (Parthenios *loc cit*).

See further Gruppe *op cit*, p 553

POLYIDOS

POLYIDOS, a descendant of Melampous and a celebrated seer of Corinth Argos or Megara, raised from the dead Glaucus son of Minos who had been strangled by falling into a vessel of honey. Shut in a room with the dead child, he killed a snake that had entered and noticing that its companion had revived it by placing on it a certain herb or grass he laid the same on the body of the child thus restoring it to life (Apollodoro III iii 1). The revivification is however often ascribed to Asklepios.

PROTESILAOS

PROTESILAOS was a healing hero whose shrine was located at his grave on the shores of the Thracian Cheronese (Antiphilo in *Anthol Pal* vii 171 Philostratos *op cit*, ii 15). He was slain by Hektor and descended to Hades but returned to life for a short time.

TOXARIS

TOXARIS was a Scythian who came with Anacharsis to Athens where he was heroised for his skill in the treatment of fevers. He was called a heroic physician³⁰⁰ and in gratitude for stopping a disastrous plague the Athenians erected to him an altar at which they annually sacrificed white goats³⁰¹.

Supplement to Chapter VI

GLYKON

[GLYKON was a false deity a pretended reincarnation of Asklepios who appeared about A.D. 150 when a certain

^S *pr*, p. g. 251

³⁰⁰ W. W. Goodwin, *The Heroic Physician* in *AJA*, 2d ser. 1900 iv 18

³⁰¹ *Thürmer in Roehrer* 243f

Alexander of Abonouteicho in Bithynia on the shore of the Black Sea having learned magic and orcery from Apollonios of Tyana set him self up as a physician after the death of Apollonios buying a tame snake in Macedonia and conceiving the idea of establishing an oracle in his native city He accordingly buried some bronze tablet in the temple of Apollo in Propontis which when conveniently discovered declared that Asklepios was to return to earth and take up his abode in Abonouteicho A temple was later built there and Asklepios duly appeared in the form of a snake on the finger of Alexander Notwithstanding the brazen imposition he gained adherent and won popularity against violent opposition A certain Roman senator adopted the cult and under the name of Glykon it was introduced into Rome where it had a vogue for nearly a century before it was forgotten ° This pretended god of medicine in the form of a dragon with a human head called Glykon was proposed for public veneration] °

° The history further further bit of history is in Lucian *Alexandro*, or *Psudotes*, p. 51 It is also mentioned by Strabo in *Rogety* from *Nero* to *Marcus Aurelius*, pp. 473-474

Bernier *L'Épigraphie*, p. 121 E. B. B. O., L. Fauvel proph. t. Al. dr. d. Ab. ot. ho. in *RN* (1900) 1

CHAPTER SEVEN
ROMAN GODS



CHAPTER SEVEN

THE HEALING GODS OF ANCIENT ROME

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

Foreign influences in Roman religion

ALMOST from its earliest period the religion of Rome was constantly subjected to strong foreign influence. During the centuries of her growth and preeminent power she adopted the gods of other people who were brought under her dominion in supporting them at their home altars inviting some within her own walls welcoming other and permitting the deities of all countries to find an abode at her capital. She neglected and forgot her native divinities and finally yielded to the moral supremacy of other races of more advanced civilization whose representative came to her in large number a slave subject and visiting stranger. She held the pantheon of the world and during the Empire the clashing of interests of many types of religion eventually made Rome the great religious battleground in the final contest between paganism and Christianity. The devotees of many foreign cults often fanatical and barbaric sought in many tongues to translate to the masses a great diversity of religious beliefs and customs and to enlist their support. Thus Roman religion as it passes in review through the many centuries of the Kingdom the Republic and the Empire presents an ever changing kaleidoscopic aspect.

The resulting complexities

Any study of the gods of Rome, mingled as they were in a great religious potpourri encounters unusual complexity. The Hellenization of the old Roman cults obscured their original character and the invasion of numerous Oriental cults which finally exercised a dominating influence over Roman religion added many perplexing facets for consideration. The Greek myths furnish the key to the character of the Hellenic cults that came to Rome but the loss of the liturgies and much of the mythologies of the great nations of the East, which were swept away in the fall of paganism have left a void that has been very imperfectly spanned by the recent discoveries of ancient record. Although the religions of Rome have been diligently studied the healing function of their worship appears to have escaped the comprehensive examination which has been given to their other more general phase. With the exception of a very few cults the healing of the sick was a minor or insignificant part of their religious activities and perhaps for the reason that it was a part of the mysteries of cultic practice it received only cursory mention by contemporary writers. Even the comments still remain to be properly collated critically studied and adequately presented. They form the basis of the present study, which however resolves itself in great part into a survey of the religious healing rite of the Romans as practiced by the foreign worships in Rome which may often be better understood by reference to their native religions.

The early Roman religion

The Roman originally a small group of agricultural and warlike people in close contact with other tribes or clans of similar peoples in a like stage of civil and reli-

gious development grew in number and power by the absorption of neighboring communities. Their deities and ultimate worship were much alike in conception and as the people came together their religions were easily adjusted. Some gods of other tribes were accepted as an integral part of the common religion and others were forgotten or blended so that their names when retained were either those of independent deities or represented different phases of more comprehensive divine personality.

The spiritual world

The Roman religion developed from a pantheism or multinumerism to a polytheism but always retained many of its earlier characteristics. The people believed that they were surrounded by a world of supernatural being, spiritual power, or *numina*, of undefined nature known only by their activities. These beings were cold colorless abstract concepts with no personality, no human affections or relations except ritualistic and their attitude toward man was ever doubtful. The early conception was simply that of spirit and its function only at a later stage did it develop into a god. Even when these powers regarded as both the matter and the slave of the people were personified they excited no emotion. They were never the companions of man nor did he seek to know them for the relation between man and his divinity was impersonal and merely contractual until the later period when there came a tendency to consecrate oneself to the perpetual service of the deities.¹

The deities as the supreme lords

The Roman believed that the gods were supreme lords

¹ Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Romans*, pp. 14-15. Loeb, *Antique Religions of Rome*, p. 19. Cf. also *The Religions of Rome*, p. 11.

and governor of all things and that all event are directed by their influence wisdom and divine power (Cicero *de Legibus*, II, 7), so that all things came from them whether for good or for evil according as their disposition toward man was favorable or hostile. Misfortune were a punishment for neglect or for some offense and were the expression of the wrath or displeasure of some divinity and the people went in constant terror and uncertainty concerning the unseen powers.

Functions of deity

Some divinity presided over every human affair (Cicero *de Natura Deorum*, III, 18) and a spirit was assigned to everything existing to the man to the state to the family storeroom the counterpart of the natural phenomena in the spiritual domain. The great divinities represented the larger spheres embraced in the abstraction and there were lesser god and a swarm of *numina*, named and unnamed each with a definite circle of activity a certain thing to do whence the number of gods became so great that Petronius remarked (*Satyræ* 17) that Italy was so filled with *numina* that it was easier to find gods than a man. The greater number of *numina* remained as vague and dimly outlined forces animating yet scarcely personal but others received thinly transparent names significant of their function the result it is said of priestly elaboration and are found in the pontifical litanie. The names given the subsidiary deities and *numina* often appertained to a greater god indicative of the capacities in which the divinity might function and were recognized by the sacred law as belonging to one god but among the common people it frequently

Mommsen *The History of Rome*, I, 34

L. R. Farnell 'Greek Religions', in *ERE* VI, 394

⁴ Wissowa *Die Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 23

happened that they were looked upon as separate deities. Such functional *numina* for each minute detail assisted Iuno Lucina and Diana in child birth and in the supervision of childhood, Antevorta provided a position favorable to delivery. Opigena aided the birth. Potina taught the infant to drink. Edusa to eat. Sentina gave it undertanding. Locutiu taught it to speak correctly and Opsiga hardened the bone. Similarly there were no less than twelve subsidiary deities between the rearing and the harvest the *numina agentis*. Tellus was the mother earth who received the seed and bore the fruit. Saturnus represented the rearing. Flora the blooming. Ceres the growth. Pomona the fruit and Conspes and Ops the harvest.

The nature of the religion

Religion consisted in sacrifice and in divination by bird to which was added prediction by oracles (Cicero *op cit* in 2). For all practical purposes it consisted in knowledge of the right power to be invoked and in knowing the manner, time and place for propitiating the divinity by performing the ritual of worship. The spiritual powers concerned were often confused and since they could not always be determined all the gods were frequently invoked lest if one be addressed other interested deities might be neglected. The rites were both private and public in character and were for purification and expiation of involuntary acts of omission or commission while by their observance the people ought to appease the wrath of any divinity who were offended to gain their favor and avert the evil which might emanate from malevolent spirit and to establish and maintain a *pax deorum*. Having performed the rituals man had fulfilled his whole duty to the gods as understood by the

contract and the deities having accepted the homage were expected to fulfil the duties pertaining to their sphere of activity and to preserve man from all harm. This religion was exceedingly practical, prosaic, grave and unemotional, a religion of duty. In the early days there were at least so far as the records go no myths or poetic tales to stimulate an interest in the gods, these came later with Hellenic influence.

The great gods

The center of the early religious life was the household. Vesta, the hearth, was the central divine figure. Janus was the door, the Di Penates represented the storeroom and the Di Parentum the ancestors. Lar guarded the field and family property and the *paterfamilias* was the priest. The oldest order of gods was Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus and Vesta, and this order was succeeded by the first triad, Jupiter, the sky god who furnished the rain, the chief of the pantheon, Mars, the god of war, and Quirinus, phase of Mars in a civil capacity. Varro at a later time divided the pantheon into three categories: the celestial or sky gods, the deities of the earth, and the divinities of the Underworld.

The early sanctuary

For the first centuries of the city until the sanctuary of the reconstructed triad was established on the Capitoline (*circa* 532 B.C. Livy 1.55-56) the deities were not represented by pictures or statues, and there were no divine dwellings except that of Vesta, which was roofed to protect the sacred fire.⁷ Pits for receiving the sacrifices, sacred groves, altars and fanes (*locus sacra*) were provided for worship from public consecrated ground.

W. W. Fowler, "Roman Religion," in *ERE* 823.

⁷ Wissow, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

Di Manes Genus, and Iuno

In the early belief of the Roman two classes of being intervened between man and his god. The spirit of the dead, the *Di Manes* or kindly deities, still had an influence over the living, and their power was dreaded when they returned as ghost and pester that offerings were made to them to induce them to refrain from visiting man and doing him harm. Further there was the personal divinity or double, the *Genius* of the male and the *Iuno* of the female, who came into being with each individual to initiate him into the mystery of life and who remained until death as counsellor and guide.

Organization of religion

Romulus had instituted divination and Numa had established sacrifice; the observance of these rites causing the god to be propitious and enabling Rome to reach the height of her grandeur (Cicero *op cit*, III 2). The divine law (*ius sacrum*) being a part of the civil code (*ius civile*) concerned the safety of the State and was inseparable from it. Religion organized by Numa very early became a State institution and the king as the father of the State was the chief priest. The catalogue of gods recognized by the State, the *di indigetes*, or indigenous gods, was determined and closed forever and their festivals were fixed on the calendar; all deities subsequently receiving official recognition being termed *di novensides*, or newly settled gods. Each divinity worshipped must be publicly acknowledged or he was looked upon with suspicion and his rites were deemed new and strange (Cicero *de Leg*, II 8). All religious affairs were under the control of three *pontifices*, who were organized into

Fowler, in *ERE* x 845. Lo Prell in *Romische Mythologie*, I 78 ff.
 Wilson *op cit* (d 1902) pp 154 ff

a college with a *pontifex maximus*, the number being afterward increased to eight to nine and, till later to fifteen. The *flamines* conducted the worship of the several gods and were subject to the *pontifices*, while the king was the *rex sacrorum* until the establishment of the Republic when the chief priest of Ianus assumed that office the religious authority which was then separated from the civil being given to the magistrate.

The rituals

The *pontifices* arranged the rituals of worship and the ceremonies for festival and other religious celebration. The rituals were simple without pomp or extravagance but traditional in form and it was essential that they should be performed with exactness and with attention to the minutest detail in word, voice and gesture lest the deity addressed be offended for the slightest error vitiated the whole, so that it must be repeated with peculiar offering. Purification was obtained by the rite of lustration and expiation and was the symbol for divine favor and the sacrifices consisted of agricultural product of animal—a of sheep, wine, cattle and dog, while for certain purposes the blood of the October horse was used. Public festivals were usually in honor of particular gods and were held on their natal days which were kept sacred for the purpose as the Ventalia to Vesta on June 9 and the Matralia to Mater Matuta on June 11. Additional sacrifices, supplications, festivals and holidays (*feriæ*) were ordered by the Senate in time of public emergency—for famine and pestilence or to avert the calamities of war and for thanksgivings while on some occasions vows were made by the people (*vota publica*) to propitiate the divinities (Livy xxxi. 9). Such extraordinary appeal to the deities were usually ordered on the advice of the augur after they had consulted the *aus*

picia, or the Sibylline book and the ceremonies prescribed included special supplication and sacrifice for purification and expiation as at propitiation humilation procession with chorus extra festival and holiday with games play and other spectacles

Augury

In the early religion there were no oracles but the god sent messages to man by the flight of birds the action of omens the entrails of victims celestial phenomena and ill omen of nature (*prodigia*) thus indicating their disposition propitious or otherwise. Prayers were supposed to be attached to all things and it was of the utmost importance for the safety of the State and of the individual that they should be correctly interpreted. Three official diviners were appointed to consider every omen and prodigy to determine its meaning and to advise concerning measures necessary to appease the god to void disaster and to take advantage of their favour. No serious business, public or private was begun without first consulting the auspices to learn the attitude of the god and any action contrary to the omen was sure to bring dire punishment or disaster (Cicero *de Divinatione*, i 35). The sign of the heaven proceeded from Jupiter his divine will augury was a part of his cult and the *augures* were his servants (*id.*, *de Leg.*, ii 8). A college of Augurs was formed and their number was increased to nine with a *rex*, but they had no part in the worship though with the *pontifices* they formed the consulting staff of the king and of the Senate. The high magistrate alone had the right of *spectio*, or taking public auspices and they joined the *pontifices* in consulting the god but all doubtful and important matters were referred to the augur. The religion of the State was thus

regulated by the two great *collega* of Pontifices and Augures the king and the Senate, this organization remaining practically unchanged after the abolition of the Kingdom and throughout the Republic

The Etruscan haruspices

Following the accession of the Tarquins to the throne the Etruscans on the north of a different and more Oriental type of civilization began to exercise an influence over religion and Mars and Quirinus were displaced in favor of Iuno and Minerva who with Jupiter now composed the great Capitoline triad Thenceforth until the third century of the Empire they continued to be the supreme deities of Rome whose temple in the Etruscan style was for many centuries the center of Roman religion and authority The Etruscans were masters in the art of divination and magic (Cicero *de Div*, I 41) which in their cult strongly resembled those of Babylonia¹ and their specialty was the interpretation of the signs of the heaven of portent and of prodigies by reading the livers and entrails of victims Their methods were different from the Roman auspice and on several occasions alarming prodigies were referred to their *haruspicia* for interpretation but little reference is found to the use of Etruscan divination until the third century B.C., when the *Disciplina Etrusca* came into vogue and Roman youth of patrician families went to Etruria for instruction in the art¹¹

The oracle of the Cumæan Sibyl

From early times the Romans had recognized the Greeks as masters of divine lore, and the Sibyl of Cumæ who had become renowned for her oracles which had

¹ J. Trow *De Religio Babylonens und Assyriens*, II, 213 ff

¹¹ Fowlr, *Religio Etrusca*, pp 292-311

acquired such an authority that they were ascribed to the Delphic Apollo, possessed Book that were believed to enshrine the precious result of Hellenic experience¹ Tarquinius Superbus who had consulted her when the native god had not availed ultimately obtained her prophetic book placing them in the custody of the Capitoline temple in charge of two augurs the Duoviri Sacri Faciundi who notwithstanding their contents which were expressed in enigmatical terms sent for two Greek interpreters (Dion Cassius i 75) These volumes reputed to contain revelation for the future were used as religious prescriptions for ceremonies in time of public emergency, and Cicero says (*op cit*, ii 54) that an ordinance of their ancestors required that the book should not even be read except by decree of the Senate and that they were to be used for putting down rather than for taking up religious fancies The oracle was Greek and naturally advised the introduction of Hellenic deities and ceremonies so that the use of the book was thus destined to change the form and content of Roman religion In this movement the worship of Apollo was naturally the leader The rite of the foreign god they came to Rome differed from the Italic cult and while the latter were under the control of the *pontifices* the former were placed in the charge of the Duoviri The number in charge of the book was increased to nine then to ten the Decemviri (367 B C) and, in the last year of the Republic to fifteen, the Quindecemviri

Three types of divination

In their excessive fear of the spiritual power the Roman had introduced the science of divination from

¹ J S Ridd Worship (Roman) in *ERE* xii 809 10 Fowler in *ERE* x, 850 851 M Riquardt, *Römisches Staatsverwaltungsrecht*, iii 352
 10 Fowler *Religious Experience*, p 247

Etruria let no form be neglected and so had three kinds at their command their own auspice the Etruscan haruspice and the oracle contained in the Sibylline book (Cicero *ib* 1 2) while in addition they occasionally consulted the Pythian oracle at Delphi (Livy 1 56 v 15 xxix 10) The Roman had thus accepted two foreign teachers in religion the Etruscan who had moderate early influence and the virile aggressive Greek of Magna Graecia

The religious invasion

Before the Republic prominent Italian deities such Minerva of Etruria Diana of Aricia and Hercules of Tibur (Livy 1 45) had been received in Rome without disturbing the sobriety of the religious morality or the sense of duty of the citizen to their god and when in the first year of the Republic famine threatened (496 B.C.) the Senate following the direction found in the book invited three Greek divinities Dionysus Demeter and Kore to Rome They were given the name of similar old Roman deities Liber Ceres and Libera but their cult remained entirely Greek and since the city was reserved for native gods these foreigners were given temples outside the *pomœrium* which marked the sacred limit (Livy 1 44) In time Ceres displaced the old earth mother Tellus and set an example for Hellenic deities to overthrow native divinities For some years other Greek gods came to Rome but then a reaction followed and the books were silent for nearly two centuries The immigration practically ceased except that Apollo (a Apollo Medicus) was introduced very early and Aphrodite arrived under the Italic name of Venus The old official deities remained unchanged but new fashions prevailed and since the ancient divinities proved inefficient they were neglected the worship of new gods with

strange ceremonie becoming such a public disgrace that in 425 c the dile were instructed to see that the citizens should worship no other than native deities (Livy iv 30)

Greek and Semitic deities

Foreign influence had an early effect on religion shown by the worship of both Greek and Roman deities and by the more emotional Greek rite (*ritus Græcus*) observed at the first *lectisternum* (399 c) which was ordered by the *Duoviri ex Sibyllini libri* on account of pestilence (Livy v 13) In 293 c by the advice of the *Decemviri Aklepio* was invited to Rome to stay pestilence and thenceforth the immigration of Greek gods was renewed with increased vigor so that by the end of the third century c, there was a host of Greek divinites outside the *pomœrium* Meanwhile Semitic deities were introduced from Syria (Atargatis and others) by slaves and merchants¹ and the Roman uncertainty of the identity of these divinities but wishing to protect the State from the malevolence of any of them accepted *di novensides* freely Many were enrolled by the magistrature State gods and legal obligation to them were assumed

Magna Mater

In 216 c when the people were in despair because of many prodigies and through fear of Hannibal devotion to alien cult gained the upper hand to such an extent that the authorities could no longer control the people and the Senate ordered that the book of oathsayer must be given up so that no sacrifice could be made according to new and foreign rites (Livy xxv 1) When in this emergency the *Decemviri* finally had recourse to the Sibylline book they reported that only the Idaian

¹ Cf. *Out of the Orient Religions to Rome*, pp. 103 ff

mother goddess (Mater Deum Magna Idæa) Kybele (Rhea) of Pes inus could free Rome and Italy from her enemies (*ib* xxix 10 11) Accordingly brought to Rome in 204 B C as Magna Mater, she was received with acclaim and was accorded the highest honors including a temple within the *pomœrium* on the Palatine She brought relief and fulfilled all the promises made for her but the orgiastic and barbaric character of her cult and the conduct of her followers (the emancipated Galli') on the streets scandalized the Romans and she was the only Oriental deity invited to Rome The people and especially the youth of the city were contaminated by the demoralizing influence of her cult and shortly afterward, when the mysteries of Bacchus were surreptitiously introduced very many yielded to their enticements The debaucheries under cover of the frequent Bacchanalia were finally disclosed to the Senate (186 B C) the guilty were severely punished and the cult was officially placed under heavy restrictions (*ib*, xxxix 8 19)

Oriental influences

The sacred barrier of Rome had been invaded Any foreign deity was now permitted to have an altar in the city and it became difficult to find a contrast between Roman and Græco Roman gods Cults of Semitic divinity Oriental Magi Chaldæan *mathematici* or astrologer Greek philosopher physician craftsmen and merchants from all parts flocked to Rome exploiting their intellectual and religious ware and giving counsel On the other hand urgent protest against these alien influences, which were rapidly undermining the old faith of the Roman the sobriety of religion and the citizen's sense of duty to the State were not lacking In 173 B C the Epicureans were expelled in 161 all philosophers were forced to leave, and in 139 the Chaldæans were

driven from the city and Italy by order of the Senat (Valerius Maximus I, iii 3) In 155 B.C. a philosopher came to Rome on a peaceful mission and Stoicism which though sceptic laid strong emphasis on ethics appealed as the best among philosophies with the result that it became the national philosophy.¹⁴ Nevertheless it came too late the ancient virtue and conservative traits of the Romans which had caused them to keep a jealous supervision over their native religion were enfeebled and their ideals were becoming antiquated while under the influence of Greek religion and philosophy the people generally were lacking in duty to their gods. The definite spiritual conquest of Rome had begun during the third century B.C. and during the second century the State religion had difficulty in holding its own against the adverse influences. The Chaldaean and philosopher had never lacked defenders and patrons and when they returned to the city their teachings attracted more and more the attention of the serious minded. Greek art and literature filtered through many agencies but after the victory over Macedonia the Hellenization of Rome proceeded more rapidly and without effective resistance.

Decline of native religion Greek influences

The old Roman religion was disintegrating and all the influence of Hellenism combined for a comparison between her deities and the Roman gods thus leading to confusion of the two pantheons.¹ It was assumed that parallel existed between the deities of the two States and as these were ascertained their divinities were fused or adjustments were made so that a blending was effected. Roman gods for whom no similarities were found and for whom no compromises were possible were displaced

¹ Cicero *De re publica*, pp. 123 ff

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 112 ff

and forgotten both as to name and function unless they were recorded on the old calendar. Temple to divinities under Roman title were actually shrines of Greek deities, the process of syncretism being fostered by Hellenic art and mythology, and the substitution continued during the first two centuries of the Republic until all the Roman gods had been upplanted except Vesta (a symbol of the State vitality) who appeared throughout to have retained her original character and name. Little of the Roman religion remained except the old household cult. By the end of the first century B.C., the identification of the old Roman deities was all but impossible and Varro was obliged to include in his list many *di incerti*,¹ or divinities for whom no function was known. The god of Rome who had risen above the class of *numina* and *indigitamenta*, who always remained in the amorphous twilight of religious perception¹⁷ had now acquired a personality and many had become anthropomorphic so that Greek craftsmen represented them in art though always after the Greek pattern. Similarly Greek myths were adapted to Roman deities and adopted by poet and other writer formed the basis of Roman mythology while Greece furnished Rome with her philosophers and physicians and her teacher educated the Roman youth.

Emotional cults

The many Oriental cults coming to Rome from Phrygia, Persia, Syria and Egypt contributed very largely to the religious unrest. Semitic deities with their followers, priests, slaves and merchants and the closely related Chaldean with their Oriental lore had long been resident in Rome while sailor and soldier returning from the wars in the East brought with them other cults.

¹ *Wissowa, Religio*, p. 72

¹⁷ *Ferguson, ERE* vi. 404

of the Orient with which they had come in contact notably those of Mithra of Persia and the goddess Komana of Pontus originally Mâ of Cappadocia who was equated with Atargatis and Kybele and who was assimilated to the ancient warrior deity Bellona whom he supplanted and whose name he assumed though distinguished as Mâ Bellona.¹ About the same time the partially Hellenized Egyptian divinites Isis and Serapis came from Southern Italy. The eastern religion had encouraged a taste for the sentimental and the people came to care more for Bellona and Isis than for all the gods of Numa.¹ The devotees of the various Oriental cults were inclined to give expression to their exuberant enthusiasm for the emotional religions but as they became aggressive and gave offense sharp measures were taken to suppress them. The temples of Isis were repeatedly destroyed by order of the Senate and often retored by the zeal of her followers until finally the Triumvirs adopted a phantasmatic attitude.^o The doctrine brought in by the eastern cults was strange to the Occident and made strong appeal to the imagination especially those of the Asiatic cult. Underlying the orgiastic features emphasized by fanatical followers was a serene content that appealed to the conscience gratified the craving of the heart and possessed an irresistible power on which men for those who penetrated their mysteries.¹

Further decline of the Roman religion

The emotional attraction and demoralizing influence of the eastern Oriental religion as well as the scepticism of Greek philosophy had weakened the State religion

¹ Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 141.

Ib. pp. 13 ff.

¹ Cumont *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.

subjected as it was to politics and debauched condition and hastened its decline as an effective agency of government. The people had grown indifferent toward it and those who had supervision over it were themselves doubters fast losing faith in its efficacy. The priesthods no longer avenues of advancement fell into partial and some into complete, neglect. The administration of the temples had grown lax: the priests shirked their duties and many *flamina* became vacant and were not refilled. Sacrilege and thefts of statues and other sacred objects occurred, many temples were neglected and in ruin: the cults losing their vitality failed to uphold their obligations to State and people. Without standards for uprightness and incentives for accord came a general lowering of personal morality. Corruption was cultivated as a science: wickedness in high place was unhampered and a strong proletariat was drifting into turbulence.

Religious tolerance

Although scepticism was rife among the educated and influential classes of Roman citizens the various people of the city gathered at their several altars worshipped their own gods in their own fashion or as it has been expressed by a Christian controversialist (Minucius *Octavius*, vi 1). Other cities worshipped their own god but the Romans worshipped everybody. Gibbon states in well known passage that

The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true by the

Cicero *op cit*, pp 124 ff

Fowler in *ERE* 838 83, also C. R. Taylor *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*, pp 53 5

⁴ More *The History of Religions* p 57

⁵ *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i 30 32, cf Toutou *Les Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, i, 232

philosopher equally false and by the magistrate equally useful. Thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence but even religious concord.

The superstitious of the people were not embittered by any mixture of theological rancor nor was it confined by the chain of any peculiar system. The devout polytheist though fondly attached to his national rite, admitted with implicit faith the different religion of the earth. The deities of the wood and grove and the wood and stream possessed in peace their local and respective influence nor could the Roman who deprecate the wrath of the Tiber deride the Egyptian who presented his offering to the beneficent genius of the Nile. The visible power of nature throughout the element were the same throughout the universe. The invisible governor of the moral world was inevitably cast in the similar mould of fiction and allegory. Such was the mild spirit of antiquity that the nations were less attentive to the difference than to the resemblance of their religious worship. The Greek the Roman and the Barbarian they met before their respective altars easily persuaded themselves that under various names and with various ceremonies they adored the same deities. The elegant mythology of Homer gave a beautiful and almost regular form to the polytheism of the ancient world.

Religious reforms

The reform in religion and politics which were urgently demanded (Horace *Odæ*, III 6 *Epodæ* XVI) were planned by Julius Cæsar but the task of guiding the disordered State fell upon Augustus. He at once endeavored to reestablish the authority of the State religion he solicited and received the aid of historians and poets (Horace *Odæ*, III 6), he drew the attention of the people to their old familiar deities and sought to restore their sense of *religio* and *pietas* to renew the appreciation of

their duty of service to the god and their obligation of loyalty to their ancestor and the State. It was too late to bring back the simplicity and content of the old faith but he effected so far as possible the appearance of a return to the religion of the forefathers. He rebuilt the temple (Ovid *Fasts*, ii 59) and revived the ancient cults and forms of worship as well as the venerable sacrificial priesthoods and sodalities all under the direction of the recognized authority of the colleges of Pontifices Augures and Quindecimviri. Apollo had become the official god of prophecy and Augustus had adopted him as his personal and family deity. He erected a temple to him on the Palatine and exercising his prerogative as Pontifex Maximus he directed the Sibylline book to be copied and the original (the book as rewritten after the fire of 81 B.C.) to be removed from the custody of the temple of Jupiter to that of Apollo on the Palatine thus making this shrine the headquarter of the new Græco-Roman religion. Heretofore the Greek divinities had been subordinated to the Roman deities but now Apollo was brought into direct rivalry with and made equal if not superior to Jupiter Optimus Maximus⁷ who though the great national deity had always been more of a political than a religious god. Augustus depended on *religio*, that which binds, to revive the waning sense of morality and public duty and to secure tranquillity and stability to the State. The old Roman religion had been rehabilitated in large measure and after his death his successor on the throne conscientiously endeavored to continue his policies and make them effective.

Growth of Oriental influences

Rome was drifting under the influence of doubt and of the philosophic platitudes of Neo Platonism then current

⁷ Cicero, *Num.*, pp. 14-169

among her citizens high in authority while the middle and lower classes wearied and careled of the cold prosaic and impersonal faith were feeling the strong attraction of the emotional Oriental cults. Roman religion was beset by enemies and the spirit of a new era now under the nominal direction of imperialism was evolving momentous religious activities that were beginning to excite the passion of the Occident and were destined to submerge the old order that Greece and Rome had zealously built up. The conservative Roman little concerned by this undercurrent remained officially faithful to their ancient gods. The temples were kept in repair and the *flamines* continued to observe the old form of worship in all their minutiae for upward of two centuries before they yielded to the subtle influence of the Orient. Antoninus Pius was honored for his care of the antique rite but even then the vital spirit of Roman religion was gone.

Oriental religions

During this imperial period the Oriental faith and custom (the *ritus peregrini*) were steadily making headway in Rome and the Latin provinces. These religions were first confined to the foreign minority principally slaves and freedmen but by degree converts were attracted from the better classes beginning with soldiers and sailors their officers and minor government officials. The worship was individual and the ceremonies were attended usually in secret by small but enthusiastic groups at private altars in cellars or small underground chapels (*spelææ*). They gave little outward evidence of activity but they grew stronger in cult (notably

Toutin, *op cit*, vol II, 10. For *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*, 129
 312. A. C. Parsons, Mother of the Gods (Greek and Roman) 1
ERE VIII 850-851. Cumont *op cit*, pp 2 ff

Mithraism) developed an organized propaganda chiefly through army channels and made rapid progress both in the city and in the provinces. Although the immoral practice of the rite of Isis had been repressed and severely punished and although the worship of the goddess still aroused indignation among many, she was allowed a temple in the Campus Martius in A.D. 39 which had been voted eighty-two years before and shortly thereafter she received favors from Emperors. The exotic cults from the East at first despised were permeating the more educated classes and finally made their way into the highest circle, gaining the avowed support of the most authoritative citizen and highest officials.

Astrology

Notwithstanding the liability of the Chaldaei (*mathe-
matici* or *genethliaci*, Aulu. Gellius I ix 6, XIV 11) to
expulsion and other severe penalties (Tacitus *Annales*,
ii 32, xii 52 *Historia*, ii 62; Dion. Cass. ios LXVI ix 2)
which did not materially diminish their activity (Juvenal,
Satiræ, vi 553 ff.) they set forth Babylonian astrology
and magic with such persuasive skill that they won over
the best minds of Rome and these arts were used by Em-
peror astrology in particular being declared to be an
exact science in predicting the future both in public and
in personal affairs. The old *auspicia* and *haruspicia*
which could not compare with it in authority were con-
sulted less and less, even the Sibylline books were neg-
lected (Cicero *op. cit.*, i 15 *de Nat. Deor.*, ii 3) the
oracle became silent and were abandoned, and the new
science of the heaven supplanted the old form of
divination.

Cicero *op. cit.*, p.

^o *Ib.*, pp. 12 ff.

Seductions of Oriental cults

All the countries of Western Asia and Northern Africa were represented in Rome by their numerous deities and the people were offered the choice of a great diversity of heterogeneous doctrine of various value many of which gained authority as the vitality of the old religion declined. Gods from the province streamed into the city and Ammianus Marcellinus (XVII iv 13) spoke of Rome as the sanctuary of the entire world (*templum mundi totius*). The traditional fabulous wisdom of the East possessed a seductive charm for the Occidental mind inured to practical affairs and impersonal worship of duty and the Semitic cult when stripped of their orgiastic features appealed both to the conscience and to the intelligence.¹ They aroused latent hope offered alluring prospect of attaining the most ardent aspiration of the soul and satisfied the thirst for religious emotion. Side by side with Christianity they promised those initiated in their mystery purification redemption from sin salvation and blessed immortality as the reward of faithfulness. Of all these worships that of Mithras Ixion and Magna Mater attained the greatest prominence leading in the struggle between paganism and Christianity but Mithraism which was fostered under cover of Chaldaean wisdom presented the highest type of heathenism and penetrated to the better classes of Roman society. The Chaldaean Persian religion foretold a sublime dwelling place for all purified souls in the heavens from which they had come shedding their celestial attributes on the way. After initiation and cleansing they received the password for the guardian of the gateway and diving themelves of acquired passion and inclination at death under the conduct of Psychopompos

¹ *Cumont op cit*, pp 2-30

they resumed their discarded celestial garment and returned to the heavens. The seductive mystère of the Oriental cults were enhanced by ceremonies, impressive in their solemnity profoundly suggestive in their symbolism and appealing to the eye and ear while the fascinating pomp and magnificence of the procession accompanied by languishing melodies and song won the ardent enthusiastic support of their worshippers. During cultic festival realistic drama were performed based upon the myth of the lives of their respective deities symbolizing their struggle in overcoming unrighteousness as well as their sufferings death and resurrection all being enacted in detail during the several days of the festival and arousing the deepest emotion among those who witnessed them from profound grief and sorrow to ecstatic joy.

Supremacy of Oriental religions

The progress of this religious invasion had been slow but by a peaceful infiltration the Oriental religion had finally won the support of the patrician and of the masses until in the third century of the Empire they attained their zenith and held undisputed sway. Under Caracalla all restrictions which had excluded the worship of foreign deities within the limits of the sacred city were removed and they entered Rome on an equality with the old State god. Roman idolatry was dethroned. The ancient religion and the national ideals had been overwhelmed by those of the Orient. The Syrian sun leader of the planetary choir, became king and leader of the whole world⁴ and the Aurelian State cult of Sol Invictus Iupiter Caelus displaced Iupiter Optimus Maximus.

Cumont *op cit*, pp 126 177 17

Ib, p 2

⁴ *Ib*, p 175

and the upreme national deity The *pontifices* augur consul and Quindecemviri were now regarded as archaic and the whole of the old religious organization lost every vestige of vitality

Downfall of paganism

With the gathering of popularity and power strife was engendered between the pagan worship by the very similarity of their doctrine and bitter antagonism were developed as each struggled for supremacy but the cult of Mithra Isis and Magna Mater finding a common ground in their fierce opposition to Christianity were foremost in the final fight for paganism The new faith was definitely triumphant only in the closing years of the fourth century when the defeat of Eugenius the last open defender of heathenism gave the authorities sufficient strength to enforce the edict of Theodosius (A.D. 391) and effectually to suppress the proscribed pagan religion throughout the Roman world

Remains of the Roman faith

The temporary supremacy of the Oriental religion in the Occident and the victory of Christianity could not at once and entirely destroy the tenacious faith of the Romans in their old and tried divinities Their temples were preserved when Constantine visited Italy in the fourth century and many votive inscription of that period give ample evidence that belief in the great triad and in other deities such as Apollo Diana Mars Hercules and Fortuna still survived

No specific healing deities

Although the Romans were convinced that every affair in nature and human life was directed by some peculiar divinity so that the pantheon was crowded with

functional gods and *indigumenta*, no specific deity of healing has been identified among the *di indigetes*, and the trend of belief suggests that none were required. It has been surmised however that the Romans always worshipped powers of healing although their names under the old régime are not known except possibly a deity they were connected with the Lymphæ (divinities of the healing power of water who were supplanted by the Greek nymph) or with god of spring and waters a *Funus* and *Albunea* of Tibur. It appears that the early Romans were satisfied with the general apotropaic power of their gods for the preservation of their health and the people having performed their duty in observance of ritual and sacrifice, the deities were bound to preserve them from all harm including physical illness. When disease and suffering came and death threatened they regarded it as a visitation of the wrath of some offended god or god or as the malevolent act of some evil spirit or deity. God who were supposed to have sent disease must be propitiated and in epidemics the State consulted the auspices to determine if possible the identity of the divinity concerned and the measure required to effect a reconciliation with the deity or to drive away the malignant spirit. Peace and harmony must be restored the effected health would return the further course of the disease and the convalescence requiring no act of competence or direction by a special healing divinity. If the appeal was not followed by relief the proper god had not been addressed the ceremony had not been correctly performed or possibly the old deities had failed and new ones must be sought.

Wissowa *op cit*, p 182 (ed 1902)

Cicero *op cit*, p 83

F Kiesel *Die Symbole der Medizin der Römer in Jesus*, 14

Early efforts for healing

The relation of the individual to his god in the matter of disease and the relation of the State in respect to pestilence were essentially the same but imple as they appeared they were full of perplexities and difficulties. During the reign of Tullus (640 B.C.) alarming prodigies occurred which were interpreted as divine warnings because of neglect of certain religious rites and an expiatory festival was ordered. The prodigies recurred however and a festival of nine days was held but later a pestilence came among the people. Tullus himself was seized with a lingering illness and observed many religious scruples without avail but receiving no help the people became restless and wished to return to the old precept of Numa (Livy 1.12) thinking that the only relief for their sickly bodies was by obtaining pardon and peace from the gods. The king turned to the commentaries of Numa and learning of a secret and solemn sacrifice to Jupiter he hid himself up and set about its performance. Though the rite was duly conducted he received no favor from heaven but on the contrary Jupiter exasperated at the impropriety of the ceremony struck him and his home with lightning burning them to ashes (Livy 1.31). Infernal deities from the realm of Dis and Proserpina released frightful maladies upon mankind and death was their chief gift.

Diseases as deities

Since it was often impossible to determine the identity of the god ending the disease the Roman when perplexed spiritualized the malady itself and addressed it raising it to the rank of a deity building temples in its honor and sacrificing to it as to Febris representing

Unopposed group of ributers in particular
 1. p. tr. t. t.

fever and to Mefiti and Cloacina as apotheosis of noxious vapor causing disease and death. Thus it came about that practically each form of illness was worshipped and invoked for relief but when a malady disappeared the worship and temple fell into disuse. This being illustrated by an altar erected in 1876 dedicated to a previously unknown god Verminus (Wormy) at a time of plague among cattle (*CIL* vi 3732)

Pestilence and deity

Pestilence of a virulent character killing without illness occasionally devastated Rome driving her citizen to gloomy terror and despair. Such scourges were looked upon as very terrible natural phenomena and regarded as an especial calamity to the State depriving it of its most valued asset its citizen. At such time the Senate and public officials instituted inquiries to ascertain the cause the god offended and what must be done to propitiate them and to avoid further disaster. Tarquin had preferred Greek oracles to Roman ones and following his example of lack of faith in native divinities the Senate when their own deities failed directed the augur to consult the Sibylline book for the remedy. In 462 B.C. the mortality at Rome by disease was not less than by the word of the enemy. The Consul and eminent men died the malady spread extensively and the Senate's desire of human aid directed the attention of the people to the gods and prayer ordering them to go with their wives and children and earnestly implore the protection of heaven. They filled all the houses and the prostitute matrons weeping the temple with their hair begged remission of the divine displeasure and termination of the pestilence (*Livy* iii 7). During the plague of 433-432 B.C., Apollo Medicus was invoked and a temple

wa vowed for the health of the people (*ib*, iv 21 25)
 In 399 B C, on the occasion of an intr ctible plague the
 Duoviri after consulting the books reported that a
lectisternium, or banquet of the gods mu t be held in
 which both Greek and Roman god hould be honored
 according to the Greek rites Three couche were accord
 ingly prepared with the greatest magnificence image
 representing Apollo and Latona were placed on one
 Hercule and Diana on another and Neptunus and Mer
 curiu on the third nd table umptuou ly uppled
 with food were set before them For eight day the peo
 ple implored the gods for relief while olemn rite were
 performed in public and private and general hospitality
 wa observed The door of all house were thrown open
 strangers were invited to meals and lodging pri oner
 were released all refrained from quarrelling and every
 thing wa held in common (*ib*, v 13) During the plague
 of 364 B C, which continued the next year the third *lec
 tisternium* wa ordered by advice of the Decemviri but
 the violence of the di ease wa alleviated neither by
 human mea ure nor by divine interference Scenic play
 were for the fir t time intituted in Rome, and actor
 were brought from Etruria to conduct them with dancing
 to the measure of a mu ician in a graceful manner fter
 the Tu can fashion native performance being added
 with ge ture chant and dialogue which by practice
 were converted from a ource of mirth to an art The e
 play as fir t introduced were intended a a religiou
 expi tion but they neither relieved the minds of anxiety
 nor the bodie from disea e and they were interrupted
 by an alarming inundation of the Tiber which overflowed
 the Circu nd excited the people to terror indicating
 that their efforts had not oothed the wrath of the god
 The official were anxiously earching for other expia
 tions when it wa learned from the memory of the aged

that a pestilence had formerly been relieved by a nail driven by a dictator. The Senate therefore appointed a dictator to fix the nail according to the ancient law written in antique letter and word which declared that a nail should be driven on the Ides of September and it was accordingly truck into the right side of the temple of Iupiter Optimus Maximus in the part consecrated to Minerva since it was surmised that it originally marked the lapse of year and number with the invention of Minerva (*ib*, vii 1 2 3) ⁴ The nail was again driven in 330 B.C. to restore the sanity of the people who were terrified by fatal poisonings at the hands of Roman matrons (*ib* viii 18) Upon the advice of the Decemviri after an inspection of the books the fourth *lectisternium* was held because of the pestilence of 347 B.C. (*ib*, vii 27) and the fifth in 325 B.C. in honor of the same god (*ib*, viii 24) The *lectisterna* were observed later for other public emergencies but the custom then declined until Marcus Aurelius celebrated one for even days during the great epidemic which preceded the war with the Marcomanni ¹

Æsculapius and later epidemics

During the severe plague of 293 B.C., Aklepius of Epidaurus invited to Rome to stop it was brought to the city under the name of Æsculapius and on the Insula Tiberina was erected a sanctuary which was dedicated to him in January 291 B.C. (Livy *Eptome*, xi) During the Punic wars a plague occurred and in 212 B.C., by the advice of Marcus confirmed by the book Apollinariis games according to the Greek custom were held to check it spread this being the usual belief although

Fowl r Ro F t v s of th P r o d f th R p b c, pp 4-5

¹ Wisw p it, p 42

Livy (xxv 12) held that they were for victory in war and not for the re-creation of health. These games were first celebrated by the praetors each year for single occasions only and on no certain day and the sacrifices were made to Apollo and Latona. In the summer of 209 or 208 B.C., a grievous plague occurred more protracted than fatal. A supplication was performed in every street in the city and the people vowed that Apollinarian games should be held on a certain day forever. July 13 being thereafter kept sacred for that purpose (*ib.*, xxvii 23). This vow which was made to Apollo and Æculapius was frequent in epidemic (*CIL* vi 2074 1 23 ff) ⁴

Holidays as expiations

Again in 183 B.C., pestilence carried off many distinguished men. The Decemviri consulted the book and as they advised the Senate ordered throughout Italy a supplication for one day and a cessation of work for three days (*feriæ*, Livy xl 19). In this supplication Salus was included with Apollo and Æculapius and in gratitude to the gods the officials erected a temple to Apollo Medicus (*ib.*, xl 51) while the Pontifex Maximus ordered gilded statues of each of the deities to be placed in it (*ib.*, xl 37). In 176 B.C. a pestilence left a serious disorder among those who recovered turning into a quartan ague and by direction of the Sibylline book a supplication of one day was ordered, the people assembling in the Forum and vowing that if the sickness and pestilence should be removed from Roman territory they would solemnise a festival and thanksgiving of two days continuance (*ib.*, xli 21). In times of less danger the officials assumed the responsibility and directed ceremonies of prayer and processions to avert epidemic.

⁴ Cf. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

Healing and magic

The Roman received early instruction from other in primitive method of healing as they had in matters of religion. The Sabine contributed their folklore medicine and the Marsians sent their seer and enchantresses to Rome with their remedial herbs. Etruria was a land of magic and magician and its people had taught the Roman who had adopted their haruspice to apply the art of divination and magic as well as the use of incantations, song and chant in the healing of disease, knowledge of which according to tradition they had received from the Greeks of Arkadia and Phrygia. Ael where magic and religion were inseparably related but the Roman endeavored to differentiate between them regarding the gods who were officially recognized by the State and their ceremonial as orthodox other being heterodox and their practice as superstition or magic. Faith that had been superstitious became magic. Magic had a bad name it was mistrusted and on several occasions it was made illicit and proscribed but it could not be suppressed.⁴⁴ There are many evidences of its use in connection with the treatment of disease but it would appear that in the early days of Rome at least it was not so much an integral part of the religion as it was an adoption from other peoples and that the intimate relation of magic with religious healing in the later period was largely the result of foreign influence. Pliny asserts (*Historia Naturalis*, xxx 16) that magic had its origin in medicine as a higher and holier branch of it yet he regarded it as the most deceptive of all arts frivolously and containing only the shadow of truth and he does not connect it with religion.

⁴ Kiel, in *J n s*, 1848 iii, 96 also Sprugel *Histoire de l'Éd ci*, i, 177-178.

⁴⁴ K. F. Smith, Magic (Greek and Roman) in *ERE* viii, 269-276.

Patrician healing customs

The Roman had no theology to guide them but appear to have placed quite a much reliance if not more upon their ritual of worship upon their god and in the matter of disease of the individual they did not trust entirely to either but like other primitive people combined their religious ceremonial with resort to the simples of herb lore. The master of the Roman home the *paterfamilias*, was the doctor for the members of the family unless in many of the larger households he appointed a slave or freedman who showed an aptitude for medicine to care for the family and this often happened to be Greek physician Cato the Elder who was venerated for his patriotic virtue and conservatism left records (*de Agri Cultura*, 134-139-141) indicating the popular family practice of his day (third century B.C.) which had undoubtedly come to him from early traditions of addressing certainties in deities as Mars, Jupiter, and Janus and all the gods (*si deus, si dea es*) with supplication ritual procession and sacrifice to protect his family his cattle and his crop and to ward off the hostile spirit that entailed malady.⁴ When disease came appeals were made to the divinities and various remedies were used with magic incantation. Of the many remedies used the several kinds of cabbage (*brassica*) were most prominent and their dietetic and therapeutic merit were extolled as panacea for both illness and injury (Pliny, *op cit*, xx-78). It is surmised that a monograph of Chrysippus⁴ a Knidian physician was the source of Cato's confidence in the cabbage (*op cit*, ch. 156-158) especially as he used similar prescription consisting of cabbage with water for fistula with honey for sores (Pliny *op*

⁴ Fowlr in *ERE* x-829

⁴ M. W. Llan in *Puly Wis ow* iii-2510 no 15

cit, xx 93) If a bone was dislocated a cabbage poultice was applied and if this failed magic was used during manipulation. A green rod four or five feet long cleft through the middle was used as a conjuring rod and while the patient was held by two men the following incantation was recited and repeated *mōta v ta dārie dardārie asiadāride una pete or mota v t dārie dardares a tatarie dissunapiter*. If this failed no other incantation suggestive of more violent manipulation was spoken and repeated *huat hauat huat i ta pi ta i ta dann bo dannaustra or huat haut haut ista i tarsu ardannabou dannaustra* (C to *op cit*, 160 cf Pliny *op cit*, xx 33 36).⁴⁷ Other sources of information concerning the use of remedies with magic are found in the *de Medicamentis* of Marcellus probably intended for home use the later *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmica*, poem of Nikandros the long passage on snakes in the poem of Lucan (ix 607 937) and the detailed compilation by Pliny (*op cit*, xviii xxxvi) of the many remedies of his day the belief concerning them the manner of preparation and their use with magic and incantation. The efficacy of the remedies for cures in many instances depended on the purity of the person gathering and administering them this duty often being deputed to a boy or girl or to the *Ve tal* (*ib* xxvi 60).

Healing in general

When a Roman was ill, the auspices and soothsayer (Pliny *Epistolae*, ii 20 2 ff) were consulted. Diviners studied the signs of the heaven the conjunction of planet the constellation the movement of the cloud the breeze in the tree the action of song bird the man

⁴⁷ H 1, *Incantamenta Magica Graeca Latina*, pp 533 534. Also *ib*, in *JCP*, Supplement 1 93 ix 463 565. F Skutsch. Addendum to Corriand, in *ib*, 565 568.

ner in which fowls took their grain and the conduct of domestic animal and bees or they examined the entrail of sacrificial animals especially the formation of the liver The least circumstance in nature might be an important guide to the proper manner of treating the sick Other forms of magic were used as words of power incantation song, chant symbolism substitution of a victim binding and loosing analogies sympathy talisman and amulet There were many popular beliefs e.g. that the foot of Cæsar had healing power when Vespasian cured blindness and restored a cripple by placing his foot upon the suppliant (Tacitus *op cit*, iv 81 Suetonius *Vita Vespasiani*, 7) Kings and a mean of cure undoubtedly mentioned and blind woman is reputed to have been cured by King Hadrian's knee Gemstones or eagle stones were supposed to possess magic power and facilitate propagation and healing Attached to a woman or placed beneath the skin of an animal they prevented miscarriage but it was necessary to remove them at the time of parturition else it could not take place (Pliny *Hist Nat*, xxxvi 39) Dreams were highly esteemed by the Romans and persons seriously ill were often brought to the atrium or peristyle of the house where they were given a sleeping potion in the hope of exciting a dream that would convey indications of a method of cure Constellations were believed to have the good and bad qualities of the mythical beings whom they represented and thus to influence human life when the serpent in the northern heaven (the constellation Ophiuchus) was held to be the author of cure because the reptile was sacred to Æsculapius* Hydrotherapy was always considered of great value among the

Wierich, *Atk Heilungswörter*, p 73

Cumont *op cit*, p 173 also cf Hyginus *Astronomica*, ii 14 for the identification of the constellation with the god

Roman who not only frequented hot and cold bath in the city but sought the medicinal fountain of the province over which nymph and deities presided and near which sacred serpent often lived The springs at Tibur were popular and Augustus resorted to hot sulphur well the Aquæ Abulæ where were at a later time temple to Ii Hygia and Apollo a well a tately bathhouse

Æsculapius and charlatans

Upon his arrival in Rome Æsculapius had become the chief healing divinity of the State and his worship initiated a new epoch in the medical history of the city a being the first to care for sporadic disease and offer healing to the individual Apollo had been a healing deity in the broader sense of an avenger of pestilence but it is believed that his function of actual healing was not developed until long after Æsculapius was settled in Rome The cult of other foreign deities who were known as healing cult in which healing was incident to or minor part of their activities reached Rome from time to time while claimant of divine rank reputed healer charlatan and impostor in quackery under their own or under Greek character often using the name of Æsculapius and pretending to his method practiced healing in Rome and claimed the patronage of the people The foreign cult that practiced healing had each its own rituals and ceremonies and at least until the second century A.D. when Roman citizens were no longer restrained from officiating in the ceremony they were conducted by native priests, with whom secrecy was habitual in the use of divination in the mysteries of their magic and in their mode of healing The detail of cultic practice do not appear to have been disclosed and cannot be definitely stated but allusion by satirist and other

writer and in cription of late date afford ample proof that the method followed at Rome were essentially tho e of the Orient (Fe tus p 110) All information obtainable indicate that the chief feature of their healing practic consisted in the use of divination the dream oracle (incu bation) with official interpretation by *conectores*, and acerdotal magic with material remedies

Divination

Cicero study of divination and dre m how that the Roman held the ame views concerning them a did the Greek that they were nearly akin divinely in pired nd prophetic Cicero (*de Div*, i 30) quote Poseidonio a imagining that men might dream in three way under the impulse given by the god (a) the mind intuitively per ceive thing by the relation which they bear to th deities (b) the perception ari e from the fact that the air i full of immortal pirit in whom all sign of truth are tamped and visible and (c) the divinities them elve conver e with leeper e pecially before death ince the soul when di entangled from the care of the body perceive forewarning of the future Divination by dream wa imilar to the pre entiment which happen to the diviner when awake and con i ted in th bility to discern and expre the sign given by the gods to man portent while interpretat on wa the power of r vealing tho e thing which the deitie ignify in dream (*ib*, ii 63) Evidence of the ntiquity of the dream oracle in Rome i afforded by Vergil in relating the con ultation of King Latinu with hi prophetic ire Faunu in hi nctuary at Tibur Serviu (*ad Æneidem*, vii 85 92) in commenting on thi p age define incubation and Tertullian (*de Anima*, 94) called tho e who leep in temple for dream incubatore fanorum

I cub r dieu tur hi qui dormiunt ad ceipi d re pon

Incubation

Temple sleep or incubation was practiced by the cult and was preceded by ceremonial purification and by fasting from wine and food. Pallets for the sick were placed in the porticoes of the temple and after the usual sacrifice the priest offered a prayer and the patient slept.¹ In Greece and probably in Rome the patients were visited at some time during the night by a representative of the god and by attendants with the sacred animals and possibly a few words were passed concerning the disease or the disordered part of the body was touched or anointed or licked by the serpent. Celsum states (Origene *contra Celsum* iii 24) that both Greek and Barbarians asserted that they had seen and still saw the deity daily in his own person healing the sick, exhorting men and foretelling the future. In the morning the dream and vision of the night were reported and were interpreted by the priests as divine monition for effecting a cure. There was always suggestion of the marvellous power of the divinity supplemented by direction for the use of supposedly potent remedies which were considered as the hand of the god to be used internally and externally with bath, rubbings with ointment, diet and other hygienic regimen. The cures were announced as illustration of the superhuman powers of the deity and were spread abroad as a miracle of healing serving as proof to strengthen the faith of the clientele and to forward the propaganda of the cult. It would appear that in the Roman practice there was less of personal healing by the god and more use of symbolic magic and suggestion than in Greece. Those who were not cured at once remained under the charge of the priest for treatment or further temple sleep. It has been claimed that many

¹ H. Milton, *Incubatio*, pp. 5-368.

of the priests practicing in the temple of Æsculapius and especially in that of Serapis were educated physicians

Laying on of hands

Sacerdotal magic with suggestion was common to all Oriental cult and was doubtless freely used at Rome in connection with material remedies. The laying on of hands was regarded as a most efficient means of transferring the divine power for healing especially in the cult of Æsculapius and Sabazius. The patient was approached and the right hand was applied, the open right hand or thumb and two fingers open and the other two closed as often used in blessing and portrayed on vase being potent while the left hand had a maleficent influence. The position of the hand and legs was important among the Romans both in council and in religion. In council at sacrifices and during prayer no one was permitted to sit with legs crossed or hands clasped as such posture impeded what was going on (Pliny *op cit*, xxviii 17). The touching of sacred objects the altar or the image of the god frequently conveyed to the individual the power of healing himself. Flagellation was used in the cult of Faunus and Magna Mater for the febrication of women to drive away hostile spirit which prevented pregnancy.

Sacred serpents and dogs

Sacred serpent and dog were kept at the healing temple of Rome (Festus p 110) and their ministrations were highly esteemed the licking of ulcers and other external diseases by the tongue of either animal being regarded as particularly efficacious. Women resorted to the temples for the relief of sterility and there were several legends of impregnation by the god in the form

of a serpent as in the tradition that Atia the mother of Augustus Caesar asserted that he had been engendered by intercourse which she thought he had had with Apollo in the form of a serpent while he slept in his temple (Dion Cassius xlv 2 cf Suetonius *Vita Augustæ*, 94 Aulus Gellius VI 13 Livy xxvi 19) Pliny states (*op cit*, xxix 22) that the sacred Æsculapian serpents were first brought from Epidaurum and were commonly raised in the houses of Rome to such an extent if they had not been kept down by frequent conflagration it would have been impossible to make headway against their rapid increase The original Epidaurian reptiles were harmless but Pliny says that these were water snakes and venomous and that their liver was used to remedy the ill effect of their bite Other parts of the serpent were also used as remedies The serpent as dwelling in a hole in the ground and often under the house came to be regarded as the guardian spirit of the household and hence as symbolizing Genus and Iuno

Votive offerings

Those who had been healed at the temple not only paid fees when able but left *donaria* of various kinds as an expression of their gratitude the objects covering a wide range from works of art and inscribed tablets to relics and silver bronze or terra cotta models of the part diseased

Greek medicine in Rome

While religious healing was gaining popularity among the citizens of Rome the germ of more scientific method of treatment of disease had been transplanted from Knidos Kos and Alexandria by many Greek physicians

J. A. McCulloch 'Serpent Worship (Introductory and Preliminary), in *ERE* xi 405 also Wislow, *op cit* (ed 1902) p 24

Notwithstanding the violent hatred of the Elder Cato and other Roman toward the earlier Hellenic doctor and despite the cold reception given them they came in increasing number many of them gaining respect influence and popularity. It appears that the great majority of the educated Roman eventually preferred their traditional medical treatment or the physician such as they were to the religious healing of the temple which they regarded with scepticism and scorn often as being too plebeian for personal patronage at least until long after the establishment of the Empire. The Greek doctor had their office on the street and in the Forum and accepted patients at their homes. During the second and third centuries A.D., the cult of Æsculapius gained materially in the estimation of the better classes of Rome and it became a common practice for the wealthier families to seek the aid of the Greek healing god elsewhere particularly at his sanctuaries of Epidauros and Pergamon.

Scepticism toward cult healing

That there was a widespread scepticism toward all religious medicine among the more intelligent citizens of Rome especially among the followers of the Stoic philosophy is evidenced by the concluding remark of Cicero on the subject of dream and divination. Now whence come this distinction between true dreams and false? And if true dreams are sent by God whence do the false ones arise? What can be more ignorant than to excite the minds of mortals by false and deceitful visions? What authority is there for making such a distinction as God did this and nature that? (*op cit*, II 62) How then can it be reasonable for invalids to seek healing from an interpreter of dream rather than from a physician? Can Æsculapius or Serapis by a dream prescribe to us

cure for weak health? And cannot Neptune do the same for pilots? Or will Minerva give medicine without a doctor and the Muses not give dreamers knowledge of writing reading and other art? But if healing of feeble health were given all these things which I have mentioned would be given. Since they are not given neither is medicine and if that be the case all authority of dreams is at an end (*ib*, II 59). Let this divination of dream be rejected with the rest. For to speak truly that superstition spreading through the world has oppressed the intellectual energies of nearly all men and has relied upon the weaknesses of humanity. This I have argued in my treatise *On the Nature of the Gods* and I especially labored to prove it in this discussion *On Divination*. For I thought I should be doing a great benefit to myself and to my countrymen if I could eradicate that belief (*ib*, II 72). Cicero expresses himself definitely in respect to religious healing. I believe that those who recover from illness are more indebted to the care of Hippocrates than to the power of Æsculapius (*de Nat Deor*, III 38).

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

Those here presented include the names of the chief deities who were concerned with the healing art in ancient Rome and whose cult and activities are considered in the following section. The classification adopted is an arbitrary one which has appeared to be the most convenient for the discussion of their special function in connection with the sick and the preservation of health.

*In Supplement to this chapter are listed numbers of minor deities and their representations of divinity with the pher of greater gods and illustrating the subdivisions of function ascribed to subordinate divinity.

I ROMAN DEITIES

(A) *Deities of General Functions*

Angerona (or Angeronia)	Fecundita Feronia	Picu Salu (or Hygia)
Angitia	Fe ona	Saturnu
Ann Perenn	Fortuna	Silvanu
Bona De	Hercule	Soranu
Caia C cilia (or Tanaquil)	Iupiter	Strenia
Clitumnu	Liber	Tiberinu
Fa cinu	Mar	Vacuna
Fauna (Fatua or F tuell)	Meditrina	
Faunu (Fatuu Fatuellu or Inuu)	Minerva N ptunu Norti Picumnu and Pilumnu	

(B) *Child birth Deities*

C rmentu (or Carmenta)	Genita M n Iuno (or Iuno	Natio (or Na cio)
Comitia	Lucin)	Nixi du
Di n	Iuturn	Op
Egeru	Mater Matut	Virbiu

(C) *Underworld Deities*

Carn	Di (Di Pater or Orcu)	Lare	Pro erpin
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(D) *Deities of Disease*

Angina	Clo cin	Febri	Mefiti	Scabi
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(E) *Deities with minor functions related to healing,
but not discussed*

Abonu	Hono	Pavor	Spe
Concordi	Orbona	Pax	Victoria
Felicitu	P llor	Pudicitia	Virtu

II FOREIGN DIVINITIES

Adoni	Hygia	Mithra
Æsculapiu	I 1	Saba 111
Apollo	Magn Mater	Ser pi
<p>Not Th lt of y f th d iti not o ly Rom n but Gr o Ro nd Orn nt l xt nd d t th onfi of th L t provi b t u u lly th y onti u d tru to th Ro typ though fr qu tly yner ti d with loc l god F r d t il Tout 1 op cit</p>		

I ROMAN DIVINITIES

(A) *Deities of General Functions*

ANGERONA (OR ANGERONIA)

ANG ON(I)A wa n ncient Rom n godde who e fun
tion had become o ob cure that her re l character w
practically unknown A tatue in the temple of Volupia
repre enting her with her mouth bound with fillet
(Pliny *op cit*, 111 9) prob bly implied ignorance of her
true nature but it led to the fancy th t he ymboli d
fear and the ilence inculcated by the early Roman con
cerning religiou matter Hence she wa uppo ed to
h v been the gu rdian divinity of the city of Rome nd
to keep inviolate it ecret and acred name whil
through popular etymology Angerona wa regarded a
another name for Angitia and some believed he wa
call d Angerona bec u e Roman afflicted with the di
e e called *angina* (quin y or *angor*) were cured fter
m king vow to her (Macrobiu *Saturnalia* 1 10 Paulu
pp 8 17) and he wa invoked for relief from plague
(*a pellendis angoribus*) A a matter of fact ince her
fe tival wa celebrated on December 21 ⁷ he wa prob

L Cl r, *Histo re d* 'decime, d 1702 p 65

Wis ow *op cit*, d 1 12 p 241

⁷ F wl r *p c t*, pp 274 275

ably in origin the goddess of the winter solstice and her name should be interpreted The Up Bringer (of the Sun)

ANGITIA

ANGITIA though primitive Italian goddess (especially Maritan) was reputed to be of Greek origin the sister of both Kirke and Medea and identical in character with the latter (Servius *op cit*, vii 750) She was a beneficent deity of healing killed in knowledge of medicinal properties of plants and the discoverer of their poison and their antidote her idea being a snake charmer and using her magic to cure the people of venomous bite The chief seat of her cult was in the Lucus Angitiae on the shore of Lake Fucinus which bounded with the Linghrib (Virgil *Aeneid*, vii 758 759) but after the conquest of the Maritans and the neighboring tribes (304 B.C.) her worship did not find favor in the Roman State pantheon though she continued to be revered by individuals even in Imperial time Her name which is probably connected etymologically with the Latin *indiges*, appears in the plural in an inscription (*CIL* ix 3074) from Sulmo in the Paelignian region in the *Dis Ancitibus* of an inscription (*CIL* ix 3515) from Turfano in the Veintian district and possibly in the Acetusa of the Inguvine Table (II a, 14) and the goddess was probably identical with the Oscan Anagitia Diva as well as the Paelignian Anceta

ANNA PERENNA

ANNA PERENNA was an ancient Italian goddess of the year and thus came to be regarded as the giver of

Le Clacocet, LoWiow *op cit*, pp 49 50

Wald *Ety ologis h Wortrb ch der tisch Sprc*, p

3

Freyth o rninghr

Wald b, pp 44-4

health and plenty and a one of the earliest deities to watch over the life, health and prosperity of the adult.¹ Nevertheless her origin and identity were obscure whence she was the subject of several speculative myths. To the effect Ovid refers (*op cit*, III 543-696) relating one story that she was Anna the sister of Dido who came to Latium and there met Æneas, another that she was a nymph, a daughter of Atlas a third that equated her with the Greek Themis and lastly that she was an old woman (*anus*) who befooled Mars. Her festival was held on March 15 (the beginning of the Roman civil year) in the Campus Martius near the Tiber with the license common to New Year celebrations and was attended by the plebs who paired off and passed the day in drinking dancing and carousing (*ib*, III 523-540).

BONA DEA

BONA DEA was a renowned but mysterious goddess who in Rome was not otherwise identified although she was generally popular and greatly beloved. Originally she was probably an earth spirit who gave health and blessing and developing under a variety of names and aspects with the indefiniteness of Roman deities she represented chiefly the earth and its bounties absorbing the names and cult of other divinities. It is also suggested that in the beginning she was an attribute of Fauna with whom she became identified as Bona Dea Fauna and evolving an individuality under this title the surname finally supplanted that of Fauna though it is sometimes urged that the development was in the reverse order.

¹ Hirtung *Die Religio der Römer*, II 22, 1. Krieger *Jahrbuch* 1848 III 596.

Fowler *op cit*, pp 50 ff.

Ibid p 10.

Bona Dea was essentially a deity of women symbolizing their fertility and was very nearly akin to Iuno and Genus. She was closely associated with Mater Matuta Ops Terra and Tellus and was originally of a nature similar to Silvanus Pales and Ceres though later she lost her rusticity in her organized city worship.⁴ The Greek Demeter was identified with Bona Dea and the rites of her worship were so similar that the cult usurped the name thus assisting in eliminating that of Fauna while the priestess of Bona Dea was called *Demiatrix* (Paulus p. 68).

Bona Dea the symbol of health and life was a prophetic deity with an oracle and practiced healing. Her chief temple in Rome on the slope of the Aventine beneath a large rock was a sort of herbarium strewed with medicinal herbs and sacred serpent were kept there but neither myrtle nor wine was allowed in her shrine owing to the legends concerning Fauna except that wine was sometimes taken there in honey vase under the name of milk (Macrobii *op. cit.*, I. xii. 25 f.). The temple were cared for by women women conducted all cultic ceremonies and only women took part but the cure were not limited to the female sex since inscription show that ailments of men were also treated.⁴ In her therapeutic aspect, Bona Dea was identified with the Greek Panacea while as a healer of eye she was called *Oculat* *Lucifera* and of the ears *Bona Dea Aurita* (*CIL* v. 759 vi. 68). The great festival of Bona Dea was held on May 1 but she was also honored at the festival of Fauna especially at the *Faunalia Rustica* on December 5 which was celebrated on the *Insula Tiberina*. Bona Dea likewise enjoyed a worship with sacrifice that did not appear

Fowler *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104

Ib., p. 101. 1. Witherington *op. cit.*, pp. 216-219

Fowler *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256

on the calendar this taking place early in December on the third or fourth in the house of a praetor or consul not in temple and being attended by veiled and women only. This was probably a survival of an old custom when the wife of the chief of the community her daughters and other matrons made sacrifice of a young pig or piglet to the goddess of fertility.⁷ It was originally a decorous rite and continued until the sacrilege of Clodius who invaded the ceremony in female attire wearing the mitre but under the Empire it was accompanied by orgies to which Juvenal refers (*op cit*, II 86 ff vi 313 ff). Bona Dea may also be the same as *Cubbar matrer* Good Mother of a short Umbrian inscription found at Fossato di Vico.

CAIA CAECILIA (OR TANAQUIL)

CAIA CAECILIA, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus was apotheosised after her death and became a healing goddess. A statue reputed to be of her stood in the temple of Semo Sancus Divus Fidius on the Quirinal as the ideal Roman matron and in her girdle the people found healing herbs (Feibel p 234).

CLITUMNUS

CLITUMNUS, an Umbrian river god and an oracular deity who was highly revered had a sanctuary near a spring in a forest at the headwaters of a stream of the same name (Pliny *Epist*, VIII 8). His cult flourished especially during the Empire and many votive tablets have been found expressing the gratitude of those to whom he had revealed the future and given aid in illness.

⁷ Feibel *op cit*, p 254. Loew *op cit*, p 0.

Conway *The Italic Dialects*, p 610. Loew *Buchler's Ubr*, p 173.

Loew *op cit*, p 224. Loew Hopf *Die Hergötter und Heiligtümer des Altertums*, p 44.

FASCINUS

FASCINUS, a Roman divinity representing the phallus was identified with Mutunus Tutunus and often regarded as merely another form of Lar.⁷⁰ His cult was similar to that of the Lares and as they guarded the property of the State, he watched over the home. He was a symbol of the power most efficacious in averting evil influence and was the protector against sorcery and malignant demon while as a healing deity he protected the member of the family from illness and women until they had conceived. Children wore his image round their neck to avoid witchcraft and envy and he was invoked just before the marriage ceremony by young women who sacrificed their maiden clothing to him.⁷¹ The State set up a statue in his honor.

FAUNA (FATUA OR FATUELLA)

FAUNA was an ancient Italian goddess described as the wife or sister or daughter of Faunus (Fauna Fauni) and a deity of women as Faunus was of men. According to legend he was beaten to death by Faunus with myrtle branches because as his wife he drank to excess or his sister or daughter and a virgin he would not drink wine and submit to his incestuous love.⁷² She was regarded as the symbol of the genius or *Manes* who give life and in another legend was impregnated by Faunus in the form of a serpent.⁷³

Fauna personifying the earth and its fertility was originally an agricultural and prophetic divinity who bestowed health and blessing through her oracle. She was closely related to Ops and Mater Matuta and was identified

⁷⁰ Krieger in *J. nus*, 1848 III 28 629

⁷¹ Wissowa, *op. cit.*, p. 243

⁷² Fowler *op. cit.*, p. 103

⁷³ Preller *op. cit.*, p. 340

tified not only with Tellus Terra and the Greek Demeter but especially with Bona Dea so that it was supposed that the name clinging to her and finally supplanting her own she was regarded as the same her cult becoming known as that of the Good Goddess ⁷⁴ Fauna shared the honors of Faunus festival the Faunalia Rustica on December 5 and insofar as Fatua was regarded as identical with Faunus, she was also known as Fatua and Fatuella

FAUNUS (FATUUS FATUELLUS OR INUUS)

FAUNUS (Kindly One speaker or foreteller) an ancient Italian deity of the woodland pasture and of shepherds identified with the old god Tellumo (earth) and with the Greek Pan was one of the legendary founders of the Roman religion. He had a complex character and neither his origin nor his development has been clearly followed or definitely interpreted. Faunus appears in various aspects and under several names apparently of other independent divinities with whom he was syncretized or more probably whose character were so nearly akin that he was identified with them and assumed their name.⁷⁵ He was regarded as dangerous to women and children and if offended he would call upon Silvanus and his woodland nymph or upon the Faunus who caused fright and panic mental disorders and cramp and in this aspect he was known as Incubus and Ficus (Augustine *de Civitate Dei*, xv 23).⁷⁶ In his capacity as an earth god he was said in one legend to have assumed the form of a serpent when he impregnated Fauna.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Wissowa *op cit*, pp 21-219

⁷⁵ Fowler *op cit*, p 256

⁷⁶ *Ib*, pp 257 ff

⁷⁷ Kibel in *Janus*, 1 48 in 609

⁷⁸ Preller, *op cit*, p 340

Faunus was the second State deity of healing and a prophetic divinity giving him divination in verse and being known therefore as *Fatuus*⁷ (Servius *op cit*, vi 775) and *Fatuellus*⁸ he practiced healing with his oracle and by the use of the magic remedies of his father Picus. His most celebrated sanctuary was in a sacred grove at Tibur where was a sulphur spring over which the nymph Albunea (said to be of divine origin) presided. Those seeking his counsel lay down on a heap of kn and the fume from the spring caused hallucinations which were interpreted as the revelations of the god (Vergil *op cit*, vii 81-91 Ovid *op cit*, iv 660 ff). A similar healing oracle shrine was located at the hot springs of Abona south-west of Padua, where many inscriptions to the spring god Abonius have been found (Lucan, vii 193). Faunus also possessed a sacred grove on the Aventine and on the Caelian a circular temple surrounded with columns. Introduced into Rome in 196 B.C., Faunus averted a pestilence and unfruitfulness whence in recognition of his services a temple was vowed to him erected on the *Inula Tiberina* and dedicated in 194 B.C. (Livy xxxiii 42 xxxiv 53). His festival the *Faunalia Rustica* was held there on December 5 (Horace *op cit*, iii 18).¹

One of the oldest Roman feasts was the *Lupercalia* celebrated on February 15 (Ovid *op cit*, ii 268). Chiefly because of its name it has been assumed by some that a god *Lupercus* was thus honored but it is generally agreed that there was no such deity and that the festival received its name from the priests of Faunus who were known as *Luperci* (also called priests of Pan). The ritual indi-

⁷ Cf Fowler *op cit*, p 25

Wissow, *op cit*, p 211

¹ Fowler *op cit*, p 25

Ib, pp 310-321

Wissow *op cit*, pp 208-216

cate purification and expiation with the magic favoring and attending impregnation. The characteristic feature of the ceremony were the Luperci (called *creppi*,⁴ the goats Festus p. 57) young men wearing only a goat skin girdle who ran around the Palatine hill in opposite directions and struck with thong of goat skin all whom they met especially the matrons who when sterile submitted their backs to the lashing (Ovid *op. cit.*, II 425-428 445-448) or, placing themselves in the way held out their hand to the nimble Luperci (Juvenal *op. cit.*, II 140-142). This was the februation of women which was supposed to drive away hostile spirits that prevented fruitfulness and failure in their duty to the family and State (Ovid *op. cit.*, II 31-32 427 ff. v. 101). Because of this rite Faunus received the name of another god Februus and appears as the god of impregnation whose priest came into relation with Iuno Lanuvina as the goddess of conception. Faunus was likewise identified with another early Italian divinity Inuus (Livy I 5) probably a deity presiding first over the coition of animal and then over conjugal union of human beings.⁷

FECUNDITAS

FECUNDITAS was an abstract conception representing fertility and was appealed to as an independent divinity for impregnation. Sacrifices were made to her after successful parturition as in the case of Poppæa on her return to Rome after the birth of her child by Nero and in celebration of this event the Senate built a temple to the goddess in A.D. 63 (Tacitus, *Ann.*, XV 23).

⁴ Fowl *op. cit.*, pp. 29-318

Ib., pp. 17-302, 318-321. *Not.* The Luperci were not abolished until the time of Augustus in the 1st century A.D.

Wissow *op. cit.*, p. 185

⁷ H. Stading, in *Recherches*, II, 262-263

Wissow *op. cit.*, p. 33

FERONIA

FERONIA wa originally a deity of the Sabine and other central Italian non Latian tribe who presided over the harvest and market while at Praeneste where her festival was celebrated on the same day as that of Fortuna. She represented fertility and plenty. She was beloved by the freed slave (Servius *op cit*, viii 564) by whom she was considered a goddess of liberty (Livy xxii 1) and inscriptions declare her to have been a nymph of spring in Central Italy. Like Febris she appeared as a mediator between man and the deity of light and darkness according as they purified for life and health or for death and she brought healing by fire though it differed from that of Febris in being external.¹

Feronia was a goddess of Capenae in Etruria and her principal sanctuary in the Lucus Capenatis or Feroniae at the foot of Mount Soracte where her priest like those of Soranus walked with bare feet over living coal unhurt (Vergil *op cit* vii 800 Strabo V ii 9 p 226 C Pliny *Hist Nat*, iii 51) was attended by Sabine Etruscan and Latin becoming so rich that it attracted the attention of Hannibal who plundered it in 211 B C (Livy xxvi 11). She also had a celebrated temple at Terracina as well as at Trebula Mutucae in Sabine territory. After the conquest of the Veii by Rome she became State deity and was given a temple in the Campus Martius and in 217 B C, during the Punic War the women of Rome made a collection for her (Livy xxii 1). Her festival Feroniae in campo was held on November 13.

Fowler *op cit*, p 199

⁰ Wissow, *op cit*, pp 285 286

¹ Kiehl in *J nus*, 1848 iii 616 617

Fowler *op cit*, pp 252 254

FESSONA

F^{ESSONA}, a godde who gave aid to the weary and re-
tored their trength was invoked for health and
trength by tho e having chronic and exhau ting di ea es
(Augu tine *op cit* iv 21)

FORTUNA

F^{ORTUNA}, an ancient Italian godde of extra Roman
origin who presided over an old and famous oracle
eem to have been originally a deity of women her
character For Fortuna the fickle goddess of Fortune
being a later development This view¹ supported by the
oldest known inscription to her at Præne te one (na
tionu cratia *nationis cratia*, *CIL* xiv 2863) from a
matron in gratitude for child birth which mention her
a the first born daughter of Jupiter and another in
which he is repre ented a suckling two infants (Cicero
de Div ii 41 85) (popularly but probably erroneously
regarded Jupiter and Iuno) and it may pos ibly be
trengthened by the etymology of the name which¹ con
nected with the Latin *fero*, bear birth

Serviu Tulliu who con idered him elf a favorit of
the godde (Ovid *op cit* vi 573 ff) erected two tem
ple to her in Rome one on the bank of the Tib r and
the other to For Fortuna in the Forum Bo rium (*ib*,
vi 775 ff) the latter hrine containing a veiled wooden
tatue a umed to be Pudicitia (Festu p 242) the pro
t ctre of the purity of the marriage relation Another
t mpl to her a Fortuna Muliebri wa located at the
fourth mile stone on the Via Latina and none but women
who were living in their fir t and only m rriage (*un*

Fowl r *op cit*, p 168 note

¹ *Ib*, pp 1 223 225

Wi ow *op cit*, p 259

Fowl r *op cit*, p 167 lso W ld *op cit*, pp 284 285 309 311

viræ) were permitted to enter this sanctuary and to touch the statue (Livy x 23) Her temple in the ox market was near one dedicated to Mater Matuta with whom Fortuna was closely related and their festivals the Matralia were held at the same place on the same day June 11 (Ovid *op cit*, vi 569) ⁷

The chief seat of the earlier worship of Fortuna was at Antium and Praeneste As Fortuna Primigenia she had a splendid temple at Praeneste where she presided over an oracle foretelling the future by oracles (CIL xiv 2989 Cicero *op cit*, ii 41) Here she was the object of special devotion from mothers and from women expecting children and praying for an easy safe delivery It is surmised that Primigenia was originally an independent deity presiding over the first parturition This cult at Praeneste was not acceptable to the Romans until after the second Punic War when Fortuna Primigenia was brought to the city (*circa* 199 B.C.) a temple being erected in her honor on the Quirinal in 196 B.C. (Livy xxix 36 xxxiv 53)

Fortuna had many aspects and titles A Fortuna Virginalis the dresses of maidens were dedicated to her (Arnobius *adversus Nationes*, ii 67) a Fortuna Virginea she was worshipped by newly married women and a Fortuna Virilis she gave good luck to women in their relation with men (Ovid, *op cit*, iv 149 ff) She was called Fortuna Balneorum, as Fortuna Salutaris (CIL vi 184 201 202) she was connected with health and healing as is clearly shown by the votive inscription of Godeberg (CIL xiii 2 7994) Fortunæ Salutaribus Aculapio Hygiæ and as Fortuna Mala she had an altar on the Esquiline (Cicero *de Nat Deor*, iii xxv) Fortuna was equated with the Etruscan goddess Nortia and

⁷ Fowler *op cit*, pp 154 156

Ib, p 17

under that name was adored at Volturn. Her festival which was popular with the plebs freedmen and slaves was held on June 24

HERCULES

HERCULES an old Italian divinity of Tibur one of the *di novensides*, was believed by the Romans to be in some fashion a survival of the same religious conception that was represented by the ancient divinity Semo Sancus and Dius Fidius (Ovid *op cit*, vi 213) fidelity the sanctity of the oath and possibly the male principle expressed in the conception of Genius very nearly akin to or impersonation of certain aspects of Jupiter.¹ In this conception of his character as deity of men Hercules was placed in opposition to Juno the female principle and all women were excluded from his worship. As the representative of the male he was honored at birth a table (*mensa*) being prepared for him in the *atrium* (Servius *Eclogæ*, iv 62). Men made pledges and swore by their Genius by Jupiter by the oath *medius fidius*, or by Hercules in the open air in the form *me hercule*, the latter being the synonymous familiar form of oath.¹⁰¹

In the Oscan Tabula Agnonensis (line 13-41)¹ it is stated that an altar was mentioned as set up for Hereklui Kerrui (Cerealian Hercules) in a grove of Ceres, and since she was a goddess of the fruitful earth and other divinities recorded in this inscription were likewise connected with fertility Hercules also must be conceived in this capacity.

Fowler *op cit*, pp 161ff and for further details concerning the goddess. Wilcox *op cit* pp 257-262 also W. W. Fowler "For tu (Roman)" in *ERE* vi, 8-99

¹⁰ Fowler *F stw ls*, pp 137-138

¹¹ *Ib*, pp 1-144

¹ Conway *op cit*, pp 191-192

The earliest appearance of Hercules at Rome was at the first *lectisternium*, in 399 B.C., when he with other deities was invoked to stay pestilence. He was the preiding divinity at healing springs and in cription and votive tablet dedicated to him for his cure have been found at some of these places¹⁰. Hercules Domesticus guarded the welfare of homes and kept away all ill (*CIL* vi 294 297 etc.)

Hercules also called Salutaris and Salutarius (*CIL* vi 237 338 f.) was assimilated to the Greek Herakles and was related to Silvanus (*CIL* vi 288 293 295 297 309 310 etc.) while the goddesses Febris and Orbona are said to have belonged to his retinue. He had two temples in Rome. The principal one built in 82 B.C. by Sulla was near the Circus Flaminius and the worship there was similar to that of the Greek Herakles *Alexikakos*, the dedication being held on June 4. The other a round shrine to Hercules Invictus stood between the river and the Circus Maximus near the Port Trigeminus¹⁴ dedicated by a festival held August 13. Hercules also received homage in the honor paid to Divus Fidius on June 5.

IUPITER

IUPITER, or Iuppiter was the chief deity of the Roman pantheon to whom as the divine guardian of the city and State the first name and fame of Rome were entrusted. He was assimilated to the Greek Zeus and was associated with Juno in a ritual relation though not a husband until Greek influence prevailed when he was identified with Hera. In origin a sky god whence the eagle was sacred to him his particular domain was the upper atmosphere and the heaven with its lightning and thunder a conception which was common to all Italian

¹ Hopf *op cit*, p. 8

¹⁴ Fowler *op cit*, pp. 135 201

people. He developed in one aspect into a divinity of justice, fidelity, and solemn contracts, witnessing oath taken in making treaties of State, this phase of his character being represented by *Dius Fidius*, and he was invoked by the common Roman oath *medus fidus*.¹ A guardian of mankind, he gave his psychic emanation in the form of the *numen Genium* (symbolizing the developed powers and capacities of man) to every man, a divine spirit which accompanied and guided him throughout his life, comparable to the *Iunone* of women.¹⁰ His temples were on the summits of hills, the earliest in Rome being a small shrine on the Capitoline, consecrated to him as *Iupiter Feretrius* (Livy 1, 10), but this was overshadowed by the later temple on a different part of the hill, dedicated to the triad *Iupiter Iuno* and *Minerva*, which became the center of the religious life of the nation, the seat of the power of *Iupiter* and of the authority of Rome.

Iupiter had broad general powers and many aspects which were indicated by his various names, surname, and form of cult. His function extended to healing both in a general and specific sense, so that the mother of a child who had been ill and confined to bed for many months appealed to him. O *Iupiter*, who endest and removest terrible suffering (Horace *Satiræ*, II, iii 288-292). He had a temple on the *Insula Tiberina*, erected in 196 B.C. (Livy xxxiv 53), to which he appealed as healer.¹⁰⁷ He was given the epithet *Salutaris* (CIL xiii 240).

The Ides of every month were sacred to him as being

¹⁰ Fowler *op cit*, pp 138, 141. Lloyd, *Religious Experience*, p 130. Wierow, *op cit*, p 118.

¹⁰ Kibler, in *Journal*, 184, iii 590.

¹⁰⁷ Bruzon *Les Médécines et les religions*, p 135.

the night of the full moon and he was also honored at many seasonal festival

LIBER (BACCHUS)

LIBER, a member of the oldest cycle of Roman gods and the name of an ill defined spirit may have been an emanation from or a cult title of Jupiter developing into an independent deity whose nature was overgrown with Greek ideas and rites but the Liber cult later became attached to that of Jupiter.¹ Primarily he appears to have been god of impregnation both of plant and animal¹ and he was honored by a phallus carried about the country in a wagon (Varro in Augustine *op cit* vii 21)

When in 496 B.C., on account of famine Demeter Dionysos and Kore were brought to Rome they were Latinized by the name Ceres Liber and Libera and a temple the Atrium Cereris erected to them at the foot of the Aventine near the Circus Maximus was dedicated in 493 B.C. (Livy iii 55 xli 28) The consort of Liber was Libera and their festival the Liberalia was held on March 17.¹¹

It was only after this identification with Dionysos that Liber was associated with the culture of the vine and his character then underwent a change so that the cult took on mythic and orgiastic features which became familiar under the more common cult name of Bacchus. When the people had acquired a taste for sentimentalism in religion

¹ Fowler *Festivals*, pp 54 55 338 Note In list of Latin gods on bronze found in Praenestine to be Liber identified distinct divinity long with Iovis Apollo Minerva etc (CIL xiv 4105) described in inscription from Praeneste (CIL i 174) his dedication Liber (Conway *op cit*, pp 318, 434)

¹⁰ Wied *op cit*, p 42

¹¹⁰ Fowler *op cit*, p 54

After the arrival of Magna Mater in Rome the aspects were developed in the cult and were surreptitiously introduced in many gatherings of it worshipping finally leading to wild debaucherie in the frequent Bacchanalia which were exposed to the Senate in 186 B.C., the result being imposition of ever increasing restriction upon the cult and its Orphic and mystic ceremonies (Livy xxxix 18-19). Augustus organized a new cult of Liber half Oriental and orgiastic and erected a temple to the god on the height of the Velia near that of Magna Mater which is referred to by Martial (I lxx 9). During the second century A.D., this cult played an important part in the secret cult of Isis Magna Mater and Mithras and especially of Hekate during the third century.¹¹

Healing was practiced in the name of the cult and impotence, madness, bladder and venereal diseases are among those mentioned being treated. The priest of Bacchus conducted office for the ill of drug and prayer to the god one of which was situated in the Forum.¹¹

MARS

Mars ranked next to Jupiter in the old Roman triad as one of the three highest deities of the State and the great god of war he was equated with the Greek Ares. Originally he appeared as a vegetation divinity to whom husbandmen prayed for the prosperity of their crops and twice yearly (in March and October) sacrificed to Mars Silvanus (Mars of the Wood) for the welfare of their cattle.¹¹ Cicero (*de Re Rustica*, 141) makes a broader appeal not only for the safety of his cattle and to prevent

¹¹ Wisniewski *op. cit.*, pp. 297-304, 378.

¹¹ Bruzzone *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹ Fraser *The Scapegoat*, pp. 229 ff. Fowler *op. cit.*, pp. 41-48, 64, 24.

bad weather and failure of his crop but for defence against disease and the preservation of the health of his family

Mars was the first of the State deities associated with health and healing and a protector rather than a healer since it was one of his duties to protect the people from epidemic especially summer pestilence. He alone entered the city and thus in the *Carmen Arvale* he is entered. Neither plague (nor) ruin fall on more blessed. O fierce Mars (CIL i 28). His priests twelve in number called Salii (Leapers) were expellers of evil whose rites of leaping dancing and miming their shield with their staffs were intended in part at least to put to flight the host of demon that lurked in the house temple and other edifice for transference to scapegoat and to counteract all maleficent activities which injured the prospect of the farmer.¹¹ It is asserted that in his civil capacity he was a seer or prophet who diagnosed disease and decided upon the manner of its treatment.

March at the time for opening hostilities was named for him and his festival was held on the first of this month the commencement of the old Roman religious year. Numerous temples were dedicated to him the chief of which was outside the Porta Capena on the Appian Way the next in importance being erected in the Forum of Augustus to Mars Ultor in 28 B.C.

MEDITRINA

MEDITRINA is mentioned by Festus (p. 123) as an ancient goddess of viticulture and healing but modern writers deny any real evidence of such a deity¹¹ and hold that she had her beginning in the speculations of grammarians.¹¹ She is sometimes described as though she were

¹¹⁴ Fowl *op cit*, p. 239

¹¹ Wislow *op cit*, p. 115

si ter of Salu and related to Mar and h wa re
 reputed to restore health by the use of wine herb and
 magic formulas The Meditrinalia on October 11¹¹ wa
 fe tival at which the wine of the new vintage wa tested
 and the ceremonie were conducted under the au pice
 of the Flamen Martialis who consecrated the wine a a
 remedy by repe ting the following words Novum vetu
 vinum bibo novo veteri vino morbo medeor (An old
 m n I drink new wine with new wine I cure old di
 ea e) The name Meditrina i cognate with Latin
 medeor, I heal¹¹⁷

MINERVA

MIN RVA, an ncient Falerian godde¹¹ wa one of th
di novensides and had a temple on the Capitoline befor
 the formation of the econd State triad of which he wa
 member She wa a divinity of handicraft of artificer
 nd of arti t and workmen guild and was the pecial
 tutel ry deity of phy ician¹¹ Although he wa known
 a Minerva Medica it i not clear that her cult with a
 temple on the Equiline pr cticed he ling in Rome¹
 but it wa common for leeches to appeal to her for
 guidance and power to cur the ick and Cicero (*de Div*
ii 59) even remarks that Minerva will give medicine
 without a phy ician while in cription found at th
 temple of Minerva Memor et Medica Cabardiacen i near
 Placentia indicate th t there he pre cribed medicine
 healed disea e of the ear and even re tored the hair
 (*CIL* xi 1292 1310)¹¹¹

¹¹ Fowl r *op cit*, p 23

¹¹⁷ Lind v *The Lat Language*, p 347

¹¹ Wi ow , *op cit*, pp 247 ff

¹¹ Pr ll r *Religio der St dt Ro* , p 133

^o Wi ow , *op cit* p 55 n t 1

¹¹¹ E Thra r 'H lth nd God of H l g (Gr ek nd Ro n)
 n *ERE* vi 554

Toward the close of the Republic the cult of Minerva was blended with that of the Greek Athena who was known as Minerva and Minerva Fatidica or Medica and who practically supplanted the old Roman goddess during the Empire. Outside of Rome however the cult of the Italian Minerva continued in its purity¹ and extended even to Britain where figures of the goddess now preserved at Chester have been found¹. She was worshipped at the State temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline the right cella of which was dedicated to her and she also had temple on the Esquiline the Cælian and the Aventine. At least one of the three was consecrated on March 19 her natal day^{1 4} and the festival of Quinquatrus (Festus p. 257, Ovid *op. cit.*, iii 809) held from March 18 to 23 was in her honor¹ while she was also associated in the ceremonies of *Feriae Iovi* on June 13. During the epidemic of 363 B.C., a nail was driven in her temple on the Capitoline in the hope of checking the pestilence (Livy vii 3).

NEPTUNUS

NEPTUNUS, god of the sea, streams, springs, and fresh water had the same attribute as the Greek Poseidon with whom the Roman identified him. With other divinities he was honored as an averter of pestilence at the first *lectisternium* in 399 B.C. (Livy v 13) and inscription found at Como in Italy and at Plombière in France indicate that there he was regarded as a healing deity¹. His festival the Neptunalia was held on July 23 and it has been conjectured that it was in fact utilized to propitiate

¹ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 254

¹ H. Barnard, "On Roman Medicine and Roman Inscriptions found in Britain" in *PRSM*, 1913-1914 vii 80

^{1 4} Fowler *op. cit.*, p. 5

¹ *Ib.*, p. 158

¹ Hopf *op. cit.*, p. 45

tiate the divinity of water and bring that the drought heat and droughts of summer might be averted¹⁷

NORTIA

NORTIA, a Tuscan goddess who had healing function was a special deity of the Volturni (Tertullian *Apologeticus*, 24), and it was customary to drive a nail in the wall of her temple at Volsuni each year as indices of the number of years (Livy vii 3)¹ This statement has recently been confirmed by the discovery of the remains of the temple at Pozzarello near Bolsena and votive tablets found there bear witness that she was a healing divinity allied to Fortuna. Votive poem (*CIL* vi 537) and inscription were addressed to her (*CIL* xi 2685 f) but she was not admitted as a State goddess at Rome¹

PICUMNUS AND PILUMNUS

PICUMNUS and PILUMNUS two divinities said to be brother and declared to be alike in character acted as beneficent deities of matrimony. With Intercedona and Deverra they protected parturient women and their children from evil spirit and from attack of Silvanus and when a birth had taken place a couch (*lectus*) being prepared for them as *dei conjugales*, they were worshipped as *dei infantum*, who attended to the proper development of the child (Augustine *op cit*, vi 9 Servius *ad AEn*, ix 4 x 76 Nonnus p 528)¹

PICUS

PICUS was an old Latin prophetic deity supposed to be the son of Saturn (Vergil *op cit*, vii 48 49) and closely

¹⁷ Fowl *op cit*, pp 186 187

¹ *Ib*, pp 172 234

¹ Wissowa *op cit*, p 288

¹⁰ R. P. T. r., in Roscher ii 197 199 213 215

associated with F' unu (Ovid *Metamorphoses*, III 291 ff Plutarch *Vita Numæ*, 15) He had an oracle at Tiora and healed the sick

SALUS

SALUS (Welfare) originally a Sabine goddess first appear in the Roman pantheon as a divine imperator of the general welfare of city and State Primarily she was associated closely with Semo Sancus Divus Fidius for an elevation on the Quirinal near the shrine of the latter deity was called Collis Salutari, while the gate leading to it was named Porta Salutari and she herself was occasionally termed Salus Semonia (e.g. Macrobius *op. cit.*, I xvi 8) In 302 B.C., a temple was dedicated on the Quirinal to her as Salus Publica (Livy IX 43) its walls were painted in 269 B.C. it was struck by lightning at least four times and it was burned to the ground during the reign of Claudius¹

It was only after the Greek goddess Hygieia came to Rome that Salus through identification with her became a divinity of health rather than of welfare This Hellenic deity was the only one of the divine associates of Asklepios who appeared in Rome and her name was Latinized to Hygia During the pestilence of 180 B.C. Salus was invoked with Apollo and Æsculapius (Livy XI 19-37) showing that she was being transformed to a likeness of Hygieia and she was afterward equated with Hygieia as Salus Hygia being represented in statues and pictures with the characteristic drapery of the double garment of the Greek goddess¹ Inscriptions to this cult companion of Æsculapius were sometimes addressed to Hygieia and sometimes to Salus and occasionally they

¹ Fowlr, *op. cit.*, p. 11

¹ Wiflow, *op. cit.*, p. 337

were definitely distinguished as *Salus* (*CIL* vi 164) and *Hygia* (*CIL* ix 1719 20234) An altar to *Æsculapius* and *Salus* for the health and safety of the Roman was found at Chester England in 1779 and a votive tablet to these deities was unearthed at Binceter in 1879^{1 3} A temple at Lambeth by Marcus Aurelius was dedicated *Æsculapio et Saluti* (*CIL* vii 2579 f cf also Terence *Hecyra*, 338) but it would appear that the name and ultimate character of *Salus* were more properly represented by the Marsian deity *Valetudo* (*CIL* ix 3812 3813 cf Martiana Capella i 16) under which title *Salus* was addressed (*CIL* iii 7279 cf also iii 5149 viii 9610) the deity being so represented on a denarius of M Aemilius Glabrio It seems probable that *Valentia* a deity of the Umbrian town Oriculum was a similar divinity of physical health (*CIL* xi 4082 Tertullian *op cit*, 24)

The later functions of *Salus* were those of a goddess of health attending upon her chief and caring for the sacred serpents but she never appears as a healing divinity She is represented as holding a branch of laurel or with a cup and a serpent standing or sitting by *Æsculapius* and a statue of the goddess *Salus Publica* stood in the temple of Concordia (Dion Cassius liv xxxv 2)

SATURNUS

SATURNUS, an ancient Italian agricultural deity who presided over the sowing of the fields was later assimilated to the Greek Kronos Saturnus and his descendant were seer and healing divinities averter of ills and especially entrusted with the welfare of each citizen His temple was on the Capitoline but an altar and evidence of an older temple were located at the foot of the hill¹ His festival the *Saturnalia* began on December 17 and

¹ Broughton in *PRSM*, 1913 i 14, vii, 7

² Fowler *op cit*, p 26

was not only popular but the occasion of much license that Seneca said (*Epistolæ*, xviii, 1, cf. Martial xii 62) all Rome went mad¹

SILVANUS

SILVANUS was an ancient deity of the wood and wild an offshoot of Mars and in many respects similar to Diana (*CIL* iii 7775 13368) but was reclaimed and brought into useful and friendly relations with the farmer¹⁸ He was at times associated with Liber (*CIL* vi 462) and was closely akin to Faunus and Fauna, or Bona Dea (*CIL* x 5998 f) while like Faunus he was dangerous to women and children and in this aspect the term Incubus was applied to him whence the divinities Intercidona Deverra and Pilumnus were believed to protect young mothers and their infant from attack by him (Augustine *op cit*, vi 9 Servius *op cit*, ix 4 x 76 Nonnos p 528)

In some of his aspects Silvanus was regarded as a healing deity and sacrifices were made to him in that capacity¹⁷ while he was occasionally associated with Hercules at healing springs and with Hercules Domitici (*CIL* vi 288 293 295 297 etc) Cato (*op cit*, 83) addressed a prayer to him for the health of his cattle and in later days he was admitted to the cult of Mithras as the protector of houses and agriculture¹

SORANUS

SORANUS, an ancient Roman god apparently of Sabine origin and possibly a chthonic deity was a mediator between man and the higher divinities bringing health and

¹ Fowler *op cit*, pp 268 273

¹ *Ib*, pp 55 201 262

¹⁷ Sprengel *op cit*, i 184

¹ Cumont *Textes et monuments figures relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, i, 147 and *The Mysteries of Mithra*, pp 6 112 137

deliverance from disease by the purification of external fire He was usually identified with Apollo and the chief seat of his worship was on Mount Soracte near Falerii where he was called Apollo Soranus (Vergil *op cit*, xi 785) His priests the Hirpi Sorani (wolves of Soranus) dressed and acted like wolves to avert pestilence¹ performed a yearly ritual of atonement by walking over red hot coals with bare feet and worshippers passed through the flame (Pliny *op cit*, vii 19) which custom was continued in Imperial times Soranus whose festival was held on November 13 was also called Soranus Pater and later Di Pater (Servius *op cit*, xi 785)

STRENIA

STRENIA was originally a Sabine goddess whose name connected with the Latin *strenuus*,¹ meant the lth (Ioanne Lydo *de Mensibus* iv 4) although no details are known of her cult.¹⁴¹ A temple and grove at the head of the Via Sacra were dedicated to her and from 153 B.C. onward it became the custom to give presents and exchange congratulatory greetings on the first day of the year when the consul took office good omen or *strenæ* (Varro *de Lingua Latina*, v 47 Symmachi *Epistolæ*, x 35 Augustine *op cit*, IV 11 6)¹⁴

TIBERINUS

TIBERINUS, the river god of the Tiber identified with Volturnus or Voltumnus Tiberinus and finally known as Tiberinus Pater is occasionally referred to as a healing deity since he was able when propitiated to heal the disease which his waters were supposed to bring (Aulus

¹ Fowler *op cit*, p 84

¹⁴ Walde, *op cit*, p 743

¹⁴¹ Preller *Roische Mythologie*, i 234

¹ Fowler *op cit*, p 278

Gellius X xv, 30) It is believed by modern scholars¹⁴ that he was worshipped at the Sacra Argeorum celebrated March 16 and 17 and May 14 when the Roman went in procession to the twenty four Sacella Argeorum and at the May festival after the mourning Flaminica Dialis and Vestals had gathered at the Pons Sublicius dummies of straw (held to represent old men bound hand and foot and symbolic of former human sacrifice) were thrown into the Tiber by the Vestal Tiberina was also honored at the festival of the Voltumnalia on August 27 and on December 8 the anniversary of the founding of his temple on the Insula Tiberina¹

VACUNA

VACUNA, an ancient Sabine goddess was worshipped in numerous places throughout the Sabine territory particularly in the valley of the upper Velinus above Reate (Horace *Epistolae*, I x 49) Latin writers identified her variously with Bellona Ceres Diana Minerva and Venus but especially with Victoria (cf the Scholiast on Horace *ad loc*) and they connect her name with *vaco* to be empty free from It is clear that her original nature was quite forgotten but it is significant that vows were made to her for safe journey and for recovery from illness (*CIL* ix 4636 4751 4752)¹⁴ and it may be inferred that her functions were negative rather than positive so that for example she caused freedom from disease rather than good health itself

¹ Fowler *op cit*, pp 112 120 Ancient writers differed as to the deity honored mainly both Saturnus and Dis Pater Saturnus further R. W. Hunt 'Human Sacrifice (Roman)' in *ERE* vi 860 1 and G. A. F. Knight Bridgman in *ERE* ii 48 84

¹⁴ Willet *op cit*, p 225

¹ Conway *op cit*, p 358

I (B) *Child birth Deities*

THE principal deities of child birth in the later Roman pantheon were Iuno Lucina and Dian both divinities of women in the broadest sense presiding over the function and relation peculiar to their sex. Although the honor were divided Iuno Lucina was always the more prominent and she rather than Diana extended her protection and supervision over children from birth to maturity. The two chief goddesses had many assistants and deities of lower rank associated with the processes of gestation and birth some of whom had originally been independent divinities and had retained their name although their cult had lost their individuality and become more or less blended with those of Iuno Lucina and Diana while others had surrendered their cult and remained mere surnames or a variant and phase of the more exalted pair.¹ Thus the ancient goddesses Carmentis and Mater Matuta could no longer maintain their independence¹⁷ and Natio had lost her cult while Parca originally a deity of child birth¹⁴ was later identified with the Greek divinities of Fate the Moirai and like them developed into three personalties. Both Iuno Lucina and Diana were equated with the Greek Eileithyia under whose name they were frequently referred to.

The function connected with conception gestation birth and the growth of offspring to maturity and marriage were infinitely subdivided and distributed among a large class of *indigitamenta*, subsidiary physiological divinities conceived as supervising each detail being involved from or amalgamated with the activities of the chief goddesses as Lucina Ossipaga and Diana Ale-

¹⁴ L. Deubner, 'Birth (Greek and Roman)' in *ERE* II 64

¹⁴⁷ Wissowa, *op cit*, p. 63

¹⁴ Wald *op cit*, p. 561

mon¹ In the matter of conception if the potency of the male was in question the men invoked Liber Libera Subigus Dea Perfica Dea Prema or Dea Pertunda (Augustine *op cit*, vi 9) and if women feared sterility they appealed to the gods Pilumnus Mutunus Tutunus and Fascinus (Arnobius *op cit*, iv 131) or to the goddesses Rumina Deverra Mena or Cunina (Augustine *op cit*, ii 11 21 vi 9 vii 2 Tertullian *ad Nationes*, ii 11 Arnobius *op cit*, iv 7)¹

Little mention is made of the details of the theurgic method used in child birth but in general they appear to have consisted of magic formulas song, incantation and the laying on of hands so that gentle Lucina apply her hands and utter words which promote delivery (Ovid, *op cit*, x 511) Only the right hand favored delivery as shown on vase and by models of the hand left a votive offering It was usual for newly delivered mother to bring flowers to the temple of the birth goddess

Roman families were accustomed to honor various deities on the occasion of birth the male Genius and the female Iuno being revered by spreading a table for Hercules and placing a couch for Lucina in the atrium (Servius *Eclogæ* iv 62) or possibly the table only would be prepared and this to an impersonal divinity¹¹ At other times a couch was set for Pilumnus and Picumnus protectors of mother and child and they were supposed to partake of a meal after the birth Varro (*apud* Augustine *op cit*, vi 9) relates that after a birth if the babe was acknowledged by the father (*sublatus*) three men came at night to the threshold of the house and struck it repeatedly with a hatchet a mortar and a besom that

¹⁴ See Supplement to this chapter

¹⁰ Hopf *op cit* p 40

¹¹ Wissow *op cit*, p 422

by the signs of agriculture Silvanus might be prevented from entering this rite being supposed to symbolize Intercidona Deverra and Pilumnus who guarded mother and child from the spirit of the wild. The eighth day after birth for girl and the ninth for boy was the *dies lustricus*, the day of purification when they were accepted into the family.

After the successful delivery of the Empress Poppæa wife of Nero the Arval brother included Spes a August Spes in the list of divinites to whom it was customary to sacrifice on such occasions (*CIL* vi 758 760) and Fecunditas likewise received honors.¹

The birth of a hermaphrodite was of foul and ill omen. On one occasion it was destroyed by being thrown into the sea while the Decemviri decreed that a litany should be sung by a chorus of thrice nine virgin sacrifices should be offered by the matrons of the city and procession with sacrifices should be made at the temple of Iuno Regina (*Livy* xxvii 37 xxxi 12).

CARMENTIS (OR CARMENTA)

CARMENTIS, an ancient Italic goddess and a prophetic deity of great reputation^{1 3} though overshadowed by the Cumæan Sibyl (*Vergil op cit*, viii 337 341) appears originally to have been a nymph of spring and a healing divinity (sometimes identified with Albunea of Tibur) and later to have interpreted divine symbol and announced decrees of Fate. Aside from prophecy her most prominent characteristic was her influence over child birth though her function here was subordinate to Iuno Lucina and Diana.^{1 4} She cooperated with Lucina assisting in delivery by reciting her magic formula and

¹ W. How *op cit*, pp 330 33

¹ K. L. J. *us*, 1848 iii, 652

¹ W. How *op cit*, pp 19 221

hence being a prophete for the infant into who e future he looked and from whom he warded off impending evil he became a m ntic deity in general ¹ Her prie ts the Carmentari lit the acrificial fire and were the official interpreter of her oracle

Carmentis h d a temple at the foot of the Capitoline acred grov and temple in the Vicu Patriciu open only to women nd an altar near the Porta Carmentalis and her fe tival the Carmentalia attended only by women were held Janu ry 11 nd 15 ¹ At these celebration the Fl men Carmentali called upon her a C rmenti Pror a Porrima or Antevorta to aid tho e who invoked her by giving the child a position favorable for ea y delivery thus bringing about a fi ion of the deity into a plurality of Carmentes

COMITIA

COMITIA wa imulated to if he wa not identical with Carmentis a deity of child birth and a healing godde She dwelt with the Sabine t Lake Cutilia near Reate the water of which were cold and u ed for their medicinal propertie where wa a floating i land on which grew tree nd many healing herb (Varro *de Ling Lat*, p 1063 48)

DIANA

DIANA (the Divine) ¹ wa originally an Italian goddess of the wild pirit of the forest and vegetation and very nearly related to Silvanu but in her general aspect he wa identified with the Greek Artemi by whom he w eventually upplanted and in who e n me he was after ward wor hipped in anniver ary g me (Catullu *Car*

¹ Fowl *r op cit*, p 1 7

¹ W ld *op cit*, p 231

numina, xxxiv) As Diana Lucifera he was a moon deity and was often called Diana Lucina (Cicero *de Nat Deor*, II 27) while as a divinity of magic he was equated with Hekate whence he was sometimes regarded as of triple aspect (e.g. Vergil *op cit*, IV, 511) She was a divine protectress of women in all the need peculiar to their sex and a child birth deity who was often ranked as the equal of Iuno Lucina Goddess of triple form who thrice invoked dost hear and save from death young mother in their labor pangs (Horace *Ode*, III xxii 2-4) She had a large retinue of deities and *numina* who presided over many subordinate functions incidental to her activities and whose appellatives were often given her as surnames She was sometimes called Diana Sopitana and at Nemi he was worshipped as Diana Opifera and Diana Lucina (to whom the girdle of the fir tree birth was consecrated)¹ being invoked especially for diseases of women for successful deliveries and for happiness in married life while as Diana Nemorensis he was assisted in her obstetric functions by the local associated divinity Egeria and Virbius¹ Her sanctuary at Nemi was a celebrated resort for hydrotherapy and healing springs were dedicated to Diana Thermana, who presided over such fountains in the Campagna at Arethusa in Sicily and at Aix les Bains in Savoy¹

Diana was worshipped very generally throughout Italy but her most renowned shrine was at Nemi on the north shore of Lake Nemi in the Alban mountain Her temple was small being only fifty by eighty feet but the grove in which it stood not far from Aricia was one of the largest known in antiquity having an area of 44 000

¹ Hekker *Geschichte der Heilku* de 1 358-361

¹ Frazer *The Magic Art*, I 41

¹ Hopf *op cit* pp 37-38

quare meters ¹⁰ Commonly known as Nemus Aricinum it was reputed to be the religious center of Italy and in Aricia Diana, as the tutelary goddess of the city and the protecting deity of the League of Latium had her altar over which her chief priest the Rex Nemorensis presided (Suetonius *Caligula*, 35) winning his position at Nemi by slaying his predecessor (Strabo V iii 12 p 239 C) ¹¹

This League of Latin cities was overthrown in 338 B C and it is inferred that when its seat was moved to Rome the cult of Diana followed especially as she is said to have been among the first of the *di novensides* to enter Rome Her temple on the Aventine was a League sanctuary and the center of her worship until she was superseded by Artemis but her shrine in Rome and her sacred grove in the Vicus Patricius (Livy i 45) were open only to women (Plutarch *Quæstiones Romanæ*, 3) Her festival with the dedication of her temple at Rome was held on August 13 and at Aricia probably on the same day processions at Rome and from all Latium going to her sanctuary in her honor Women made pilgrimages to Nemi with torches and wreaths to implore the goddess to grant them children and easy delivery and in her temples were hung many votive tablets and ex votos representing all parts of the body though chiefly the genital organ of both sexes mothers with nursing babes and other *donaria* ¹ Diana had many other shrines in Italy, but the wealthiest and the one favored by Sulla was that at Mount Tifatina near Capua known as the Mons Dianæ Tifatinae (*CIL* x 3933 4564) Her cult was so popular that foreign goddesses were worshipped

¹⁰ Cont. G. Utter 'An excursion to the Lake of Nemi and Civitavecchia' in *JBASR*, 1890 1898 ii 448 ff. also R. Lanciani 'The Mysterious Wreck of Nemi' in *ib.*, pp 300 ff

¹¹ Fr. R. *op. cit.*, i 10 11

in her name or her name was connected with theirs a
with the Carthaginian Tamt known as Dea C le ti ¹

Diana was commonly depicted in the dress of a huntress but in her obstetric function the torch was her permanent attribute

EGERIA

EGERIA, originally a water nymph ¹ was associated with Diana as a deity of child birth and healing at the sacred grove of Nemi near Aricia. According to legend he was the friend, mistress or wife of Numa whom he met at night and counselled concerning legislation especially hygienic law in a cave on the Palatine or at a grotto spring with healing properties outside the Port Capena on the Via Appia (Juvenal *op cit*, III 11-12). After the death of Numa he retired to the grove at Nemi where his inconceivable grief disturbed the worship of Diana (Ovid *Fasti*, III 262 ff *Metam*, XV 480 ff). At the root of an oak in the sacred grove was the Spring of Egeria which had received her tear and was resorted to for healing its water those of other springs being credited with power to facilitate conception and delivery ¹. In her obstetric function he was associated with Virbius another divinity connected with the sacred precinct at Nemi. When the cult of Diana was removed to Rome Egeria followed and he was worshipped in the sacred grove of the Camenæ below the Aventine ¹.

GENITA MANA

GENITA MANA, a goddess whose name (Birth Deity) ¹ implies

¹ Wissowa *op cit*, pp 248-252

¹ Fraser *op cit*, 171

¹ ⁴ *Ib*, II 171 ff

¹ Wissowa *op cit*, pp 160-219, 247

¹ Cf. Wissowa *op cit*, pp 338-341, 460-41

was an ancient Italian goddess who had power over life and death¹⁷ so that when sacrifices were made to her the suppliants prayed that no one of the household should become manum (*i.e.* one of the *Manes*). Her cult was obscure but she had a great influence over childbirth and it is said that she was a rival of Iuno Lucina. She was honored at the festival Compitalia and nursing children were sacrificed to her (Plutarch *op cit*, 53). A Genetrix she had a statue and an altar in the grove of Cere at Agnone in Samnium¹.

IUNO (OR IUNO LUCINA)

Iuno (Youthful ?)¹ one of the chief goddesses of the Roman pantheon formed the great triad with Jupiter and Minerva but though by a false analogy with the Greek Hera she was often referred to as the wife of Jupiter there is no well authenticated myth of this until the anthropomorphic period following the acceptance of Greek ideas¹. She was the divinity of the lower atmosphere in distinction to the domain of Jupiter in the heaven and was originally the elemental spirit of womanhood representing the female principle in human life. Hercules did the male. Each woman had her Iuno spirit who guarded her throughout life corresponding to Genius for men and by whom she swore whence Iuno became the great tutelary deity of woman in all her functions and activities.

In several of her aspects especially as Iuno Lucina Iuno was the chief goddess of childbirth and presided over every process and activity of the offspring until the period of manhood and womanhood. Lucina was her most

¹⁷ Wissowa *op cit*, p. 240

¹ Conway *op cit*, pp. 111-2

¹ Wissowa *op cit*, pp. 398-3

¹⁷ Fowler *op cit*, p. 14

frequent epithet (Ovid, *Fasti*, ii 449 451) and one by which poets addressed her (Horace *Epodæ*, v 5 6) and the name meaning light was derived from Luna (Moon Cicero *op cit*, ii 27) being supposed to have been given her because she brought children into the light. She also received many other epithets expressive of the various phases of her character as Conervatrix Opigena (Festus p 200) and very commonly Sopita or Sipes by which she was known at Lanuvium (*CIL* xiv 2088 ff) and a temple in the herb market at Rome was dedicated to her in 197 B C (Livy xxxiv 53)¹⁷¹ She was often assimilated with and called Diana and Ilithyia or she sometime preferred the name of Genitali (Horace *Carmen Seculare*, 13 16) Iuno Lucina apparently upplanted the old birth goddess Natio Lucina and the Nixidu were associated in the obstetric function and old Roman goddesses were subsidiary to her Lucina was not only invoked for her aid but also to save women in confinement (Terence *Andria*, 473 *Adelphæ*, 487) and she was similarly implored to be propitious to infant as to the boy who was to be her in the Golden Age (Vergil *Eclogæ*, iv 8 10)

Iuno frequently appears in very minor functional capacities under the surname of one or another of the many *numina* of her retinue as Lucina Ossipaga or Fluonia (Arnobius, *op cit* iii 30 118) as the divine matchmaker she was Iuno Iuga (Paulus p 104) as the divine bride maid Iuno Pronuba (Vergil *Æn*, iv 166) and as Iuno Populona she protected against devastation and was responsible for the increase of the population¹⁷ According to an old legend of the sacred grove near the Suburra which surrounded her temple on the Esquiline

¹⁷¹ Fowler *op cit*, p 302

¹⁷ Wilson, *op cit*, p 189

the Sabine women carried off by the Romans proved sterile so that couples made pilgrimages there and heard a voice from the trees which indicated the remedy (Ovid *op cit*, II 431 450)

Iuno shared honor at the Capitoline temple with Jupiter and Minerva but her most renowned sanctuary in Rome was on the Esquiline where a gift was brought to the goddess after every birth where flowers were offered her (*ib*, III 253 254) and which no one wearing something knotted was allowed to approach a knot being proposed to hinder birth (Servius *op cit*, IV 518)

Iuno was universally regarded as the goddess of matron and chastity and the wives of Roman joined in the festival of the Matronalia which celebrated the dedication of her temple on March 1 when pigs were sacrificed as substitutes for lambs¹⁷ She also had a sacred grove at Lanuvium one of the great sanctuaries of Latium and her oracles which were announced from the mouths of serpents enjoyed great renown in Rome The goat was sacred to her and at Lanuvium she was represented as wearing a goat skin The thong (amicul Iunonis Arnobius *op cit*, II 23) used by the priests of Faunus for the purification of sterile women¹⁷⁴ were taken from the skin of the goat and from this custom Iuno received the name Februa and was brought into relation to Faunus as the goddess of conception (Paulus p 85 Martianus Capella II, 149 Arnobius *op cit*, III 30) The festival of Iuno Regina was celebrated on the Aventine by procession of women the sacrifice of cows and other ceremonies (Livy V 31 XXI 62 XXII 1 XXVII 37 XXXI 12), and another festival was held at Falerii (Ovid *op cit*, II 427)

The oldest strictly women celebration in Rome was

¹⁷ Fowl I, *op cit*, pp 38 105

¹⁷⁴ *Ib*, pp 179, 318 321

the Nonæ Caprotinæ¹⁷ held on July 7 when sacrifice and feasts were held under the wild fig tree (*CIL* iv 1555) and at which ham battles took place between servant maid who exchanged curtilous epithets and pueræ. The origin and significance of this festival have been lost, but it is supposed to have had something to do with exsufflation perhaps the bearing of children, since Iuno bore the name Caprotina and was evidently associated with it¹⁷. The term is connected with Latin *caper* (goat)¹⁷⁷.

IUTURNA

IUTURNA, associated with Carmentis in child birth was a water nymph representing the healing power of water and presiding over a spring named for her at Luvium (*Servius op cit* xii 139 *Varro op cit*, v 71)¹⁷. After the first Punic War her cult was transferred to Rome and a temple was built for her on the Campus Martius while an old *lacus* of Iuturna was situated in the Forum near the shrine of Castor and Pollux (*Ovid op cit* i 706-708). Recent excavations have disclosed this shrine of Iuturna¹⁷ the construction of which suggests that it was used for incubation. Her festival the Iuturnalia, was celebrated on January 11 simultaneously with the Carmentalia and was attended especially by those whose occupation associated them with spring water such as fullers (*Servius loc cit*).

¹⁷ *Wilson op cit*, p 184. *Lo Fowler Religious Experience*, p 14 *id*, *Festivals*, pp 175-177.

¹⁷ *Wilson op cit*, p 184.

¹⁷⁷ *Wald op cit*, p 128.

¹⁷ *Not* Fortuna (Fortuna) with goddess of spring and health. *Pliny the Elder* and festival in honor of Fontinalia on October 13 (*Varro op cit*, vi, 22).

⁷ *H. L. Bishop* 'The Fountain of Iuturna in the Roman Forum' in *RP*, 1903, 174-180.

MATER MATUTA

MATER MATUTA was an ancient Italian goddess who presided over the early morning hour¹ and as the birth of day from darkness was symbolized by Janus so she is said to have unlocked the womb and brought the child into the light^{1 1} At the close of the Republic she was identified with the Greek Leukothea (Cicero *op cit*, iii 19 Pulu p 125) but he was overshadowed in her obstetric function by Iuno Lucina for whom Matuta was occasionally used as a surname She was always a deity of matrons and children like Carmentis Fortuna and Bona Dea and it is suggested that she was a form of the latter¹

The temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium dated from 396 B C and was dedicated on June 11 thus giving rise to the Matralia Only women officiated at this rite which was attended solely by matrons who were living with their first husbands while a female slave ritually brought into her temple was cuffed and driven out (Ovid *op cit*, vi 475 ff Plutarch *Vita Camilli*, 5) Women prayed there for their nephew and niece before their own children (Plutarch *Quæst Rom*, 16 17) a mark of the extreme antiquity of the worship of this divinity

The cult of Mater Matuta was widespread throughout Central Italy and even extended to Africa while inscription to her have been found in Umbria at Prænestes and among the Volsci The temple in the harbor of Pyrgi the port of Caere in Etruria dedicated to Ilithyia is believed to have been hers¹ and she also had shrines at Satricum and Cor

¹ Cf Wille *op cit*, pp 470 471

^{1 1} Wille *op cit*, p 110

¹ Fowler *op cit*, p 15

¹ *Ib*, p 155 not 4

NATIO (OR NASCIO)

NATIO (or Na cio) wa an ancient Roman godde of child birth who had been upplanted by Iuno Lucina and who according to Cicero (*op cit* iii 18) had formerly been honored by sacrifice and proce sions in the district of Ardea

NIXI DII

NIXI DII were obscure divinitie of whom little is known except that they assisted in child birth They were reputed (though probably in error) to have been brought from Syria by the Consul M. Acilius Glabrio after his defeat of Antiochus in 191 c., and Festus (p 174) mentions them as three guardian of women in labor who e statues in a kneeling position (whence their name they who bow down kneel)^{1 4} stood before the chapel of Minerva on the Capitoline Both Lucina and the NIXI dii were invoked in one cry by Alcmena at the birth of Hercules (Ovid, *Metam*, ix 294)

OPS

Ops wa an ancient harve t goddess who assisted in child birth As an agricultural deity he wa closely associated with Con u in protecting the crops during the harvest and hence he was called Consiva (Varro *op cit*, vi 21) though he never developed a personality but always remained a *numen*¹ It wa ometimes assumed in antiquity that he was the spouse of Consus (Festus p 186 Macrobius *op cit*, iii ix, 4) but of this there is no well attested myth and more frequently she was referred to as the wife of Saturn (e.g. Plautus *Cistellaria*, 514 515)

^{1 4} Sommer, *Handbuch der römischen La t d Formenlehre*, p 64

¹ Fowler *op cit*, p 338

though even this is doubtful despite their functional relation¹ Ops in her aspect as the earth was identical with Terra¹⁸⁷ and it is believed that Fauna and Bona Dea were at times called Ops.

It was as Opifera that she was the helpful mother to newborn children and those who invoked her touched the ground. Shortly after birth every infant was placed on the ground in honor of Ops the great mother, and under the supervision of Levana, the father raised it up (*sublatus*) by this act acknowledging his paternity whence Ops and Levana were witnesses to the legitimacy of children (*Augustine op cit*, iv 11)¹

Ops shared the temple of Saturn and the Opalia in her honor was celebrated on December 19 during the Saturnalia¹. She divided another shrine situated in the Vicus Jugarius with Ceres and her own festival the Opiconivia at which none were admitted to the sacrifice but the Pontifex Maximus and the Vestals was held on August 25¹⁰. Both the Opiconivia and the Opalia fell it should be noted four days after the Consualia thus further establishing the relation between Ops and Consus.

VIRBIUS

VIRIVUS was a minor deity associated with child birth in the cults of Diana and Egeria at Aricia (*Vergil op cit* vii 761 782) and was reputed to be Hippolytos who had been done to death by the curses of Theseus but raised from the dead by Aiklepios. He had then fled to Italy where he consecrated a precinct to Diana (Artemis) at Aricia (*Paulanias II xxvii 4*) and was called her chief

¹ Fowler *op cit*, p 212 *id*, *Religions Experience*, pp 156 482

¹⁷ Fowler *op cit*, p 156

¹ *Ib*, p 83

¹ *Id*, *Festivals*, pp 273 274

¹⁰ *Ib*, pp 212 214

priest (Ovid *op cit*, xv 543 ff) He has also been regarded as the consort of Diana having the same relation as Adonis to Aphrodite and Attis to Kybele^{1 1} and possibly he was a local form of Jupiter¹ Virbius was represented as an old man not unlike Æsculapius¹ and at Naples had a Flamen Virbialis (*CIL* x 1493)

I (C) *Underworld Deities*

Dis, or Dis Pater and Proserpina ruled over underworld regions inhabited by a vast horde of spirits of all kinds and degrees of rank and possessing a certain though indefinite existence The original conception of the superhuman being as well as their character power and classification were largely forgotten during the Republic and Latin writers on the subject are vague and confused but it appears clear that the early Romans never imagined any such organized Underworld as was evolved by the Greeks and adopted by Vergil in the *Æneid* Nevertheless the dead had some sort of continued existence in the subterranean realm and although no definite lines were drawn in general, those who had been duly buried according to the customary ceremonies became the respected ancestors the *Di Parentum*, often called *Di Manes*, while those who had died away from home or who had not received proper rites, as well as spirits of evil men became specters the *Larvæ* or *Lemures*, who returned to their old abodes and troubled the living From among these myriad spirits a few had been personified as the Lares and their mythical mother *Mania*

The evil spirits and deities who were hostile to man

^{1 1} Fr *op cit*, i 41

¹ *Ib*, ii 37

¹ Wis *op cit*, p 248

appeared on earth as ghost and apparition of the night tormenting and terrifying the living and causing sickness and misfortune. They were the willing slave of disease bringing pestilence and death into the state and afflicting individual with many ill especially such neurotic and psychic disturbance as epilepsy hysteria hydrophobia and mania.

The *deae* were the general conception underlying the several festivals designed to pay respect and honor to the good ancestor and to propitiate appease and drive away those deities and spirits who were hostile. The rites were essentially those of purification atonement sacrifice and the bestowal of gift and the religious obligations gave rise to many cults and ceremonies which vanished at an early period being represented in historic times by the *dies parentales*, or nine days which ended February 21 in the State festival of the *Feralia* with a general atoning sacrifice (Ovid *Fasts*, II 533 ff.) and the *Lemuria* of May 9 11 and 13 sacred to the *Lemures* and *Larvae*.¹ It was considered an essential duty of every family to fulfil their religious obligation to the *Di Manes* at the *Parentalia* on February 13 and to make atonement for all involuntary offense of commission and omission, whereas those which were voluntary could not be expiated in this way. During the *Parentalia* and *Lemuria* all temples were closed and marriage performed on those days would be unfortunate nor were contracts (Ovid *op cit*, V 485 488). The *Lemuria* is supposed to have been originally both State and a private function but in historic times the share of the State was uncertain in if indeed it was still retained. The private rites were performed by the *paterfamilias*, who rose at midnight and walked barefoot through the house

¹ Wilson, *op cit*, pp 174 235 236 23

igning with his fingers joined with the middle of his thumb¹ He then washed his hands thrice and taking black beans in his mouth, spat them out with averted face repeating nine times the words These I offer with these beans I ran on myself and mine Again he touched water struck a brazen vessel and after crying nine times, Go forth, ancestral Manes, could once more look behind him (Ovid *op cit*, v 431-444)

CARNA

CARNA was an ancient Italian goddess of the Underworld who presided over the vital portion of the body¹ particularly the heart and digestive organs and incidentally over nutrition her own diet being simple like that of the olden time without dainties or luxuries (Ovid *op cit*, vi 169-172) Her festival the Carnaria was held on June 1

Prayers are offered to the goddess for the good preservation of liver heart and the other internal organs of our bodies and her sacrifice is bean meal and lard because this is the best food for the nourishment of the body (Macrobius *op cit*, I xii 32) Those who sacrificed to her and ate bean gruel and pig fat on that day secured a good digestion for the year^{1 7} She practiced beneficent magic and healing for Janus had given her a branch of white thorn (? arbutus) which was reputed to avert evils and to ward off the attacks of the *striges* who ought to suck the blood of children and cause death when she saved the life of Phocas by touching the doorpost three times with her twig of arbutus, sprinkling the threshold with water containing drug holding the entrails of a now two month old and saying Heart for

¹ The well known potropie sign of the *ficio*

¹ Her name is connected etymologically with Latin *caro*, flesh (Lind y, *op cit*, p 317)

^{1 7} Wissow *op cit*, p 23

heart take vitals for vitals this life we give you instead of one better (Ovid *op cit*, vi 129 168)¹ She was confused with the totally different deity Cardea, the goddess of the door hinge (*ib*, vi 101 102 127)

DIS (DIS PATER OR ORCUS)

DIS, DI Pater and Orcu were names given by Roman writers to the god of the dead and Underworld Dis was the Latinised form of the Greek Plouton with whom he was equated referring to the wealth under his control (Varro *op cit*, V x, 20 Cicero *op cit*, ii 26) and Orcu (Death ?Viduus) was used to designate the god who separated the soul from the body and took it to himself (Festus p 202)¹ His consort was Proserpina identical with Persephone who had been brought to Rome with Demeter and Dionysos in 496 B.C. and named Libera

Dis and Proserpina sent disease and death among mankind Dis to men and Proserpina to women and children but they also had the power of averting sickness and death and of healing disease Accordingly honor and sacrifice were offered them to release their victims from malediction and to restore health and water heated upon their altar had curative power (Valerius Maximus II iv 5) The cult of Dis and Proserpina was first brought to Rome about 249 B.C. from Tarentum and was established at an underground altar in the Campus Martius near the Tiber where the strange rite of the Ludi Tarentini with a nocturnal ritual and sacrifice of black animals were performed (Festus p 154 Macrobius *op cit*, I

¹ For similar mention and offering of substituted victims among the Babylonians *supr*, p 112

² Prillinger (*op cit*, p 453) interprets Orcus as the underworld probably naming the River Styx *Wld op cit*, p 54

³ Kissel, in *J n s*, 184 iii, 23 24

xvi 17) ¹ During three day Augu t 24 October 5 and November 8 the mundu on the Palatine claimed by the e deitie remained uncovered ^o These divinitie al o had an ltar on the Capitoline

LARES

THE Lare were deitie of the Underworld but were often identified with the *Di Manes* and were regarded primarily as the hades of tho e who h d founded the family or State good men who after death loved to hover about their old home and to pre erv the welfare of their famiie and possession but who must be appeased by special gifts (Ovid *op cit* ii 535 633 vi 791) The State Lare guarded the State as a whole helped its citizens in distress and guarded again t pe tilence while the hou ehold Lare (*Lares domestici*) were generally good spirit who protected the family gainst illness though if they were offended they had the power of causing di e e epecially neuro e and psychic disorders (Festu p 119 Noniu p 44) The family recogni ed their beneficent influence by hanging wreath in their home to the Lares on happy occa ion a when a member recovered from di ease There wer al o Lare of the road and cro roads, where they watched over the farm and other property of the family The fe tival of the Laralia or Comit le usually held about January 3 5, was celebrated in their honor (Varro *op cit* vi 25)

PROSERPINA

PROSERPINA was the chief goddess of the Underworld and the con ort of Di (For her function ee under Dis)

⁰¹ Fowl r *R ligio s Experie c*, pp 440 441

^o *Id*, *F tw l*, pp 211 12

Wi ow *op cit*, p 235

⁴ Fowl r *op c t*, p 279 *id*, *Rel giou Exp ri c*, p 7

I (D) *Deities of Disease*

DIS A, both paradic and epidemic was regarded as the expression of divine disfavor primarily as a punishment for in or some offense toward the god and restoration of good relation depended upon conciliation obtained by sacrifice and by purification which was regarded as the symbol of divine grace. Roman revered their in a divinity who might become friendly and inclined to them hence they also venerated deities but they seldom went so far as to group symptoms as of a single deity and conceived the various symptom as divinities who should be revered and invoked for cure (Varro *apud* Nonius p. 46)

ANGINA

ANGINA, the name under which a *numen* or goddess was venerated as the imperator of sore throat supposed to have been quinsy was invoked for its cure although Roman afflicted with this malady believed they were cured after having invoked Angeron (Macrobii *op cit*, I 10 Paulus pp. 8 17 28)

CLOACINA

CLOACINA a goddess who presided over the drain of Rome especially the Cloaca Maxima was a *numen* who personified the trench arising from them. She was invoked for protection from diseases due to the drain and was euphemistically addressed as sweet Cloacina.

It is related by Pliny (*op cit*, xv 119) that the Roman and Sabine when about to engage in battle on account of the rape of the Sabine virgins lay down their arms and made atonement with branches of myrtle on the spot where later the statue of Venus Cloacina stood. The derivation

° K1 s 1 in *Janus*, 1848 in 408 409

vation of the name Cloacina (*cluere*) denoted the same as the later word to cleanse (*purgare*) (Festus p 55) and Venus was the goddess of myrtle and marriage Hence Venus Cloacina was invoked for purification from forbidden sexual indulgence and its results and in her cult marriage was an atonement for such transgressions and the consequence (Servius *op cit*, I, 720 Augustine *op cit* VI 10 IV 23) It was in the temple of Cloacina that Virginia met death at the hands of her father in protection of her honor (Livy III 48)

FEBRIS

FEBRIS, an ancient *numen* personifying fever especially the malaria of the Roman marches was supposed to cause such fevers and were sent in punishment and also to heal the fever-stricken by a purifying fire within the body which delivered them from the divine displeasure.¹⁹ Later the goddess, usually addressed as Dea Febrilis was specialized as Dea Tertiana and Dea Quartana and incription (CIL VII 999 XII 3129) show that the deities were venerated as the disease itself and were directly appealed to as being able to heal by destroying the malady.²⁰ Febris was regarded as a mediator between mankind and the gods even such divinities as Jupiter and Juno when the disease led to light and health and those of the lower world as Dis Pater or Orcus when purification led to death (Macrobius *op cit*, I 13) She was a popular deity and had at least three temples in Rome one each on the Palatine the Esquiline and the Quirinal (Valerius Maximus II v 6)²⁰ She was believed to be well disposed toward mankind and having magic cure for both kinds of fever to prosper the many remedies.

¹⁹ K1 1 in *Jus*, 1848, III 616

²⁰ Wissow *op cit*, p 245

Thacker in *ERE* VI 554

die which were consecrated and stored in her fane (Valeriu Maximu *loc cit*, Pliny *op cit*, xxviii 46) Patients were carried to her temples but their recovery was upposed to be due to the severe regimen which they were obliged to undergo rather than the remedie given (Valerius Maximus II v 55)

MEFITIS

M FITIS, an ancient Italian goddess personifying tench (Servius *op cit*, vii 82 *CIL* ix 1421) more particularly miasm arising from the earth wa invoked not only to protect her worshippers from malarial fever, vapors from marshes and poisonou gases from spring and clefts in the earth but also to cure those who were ill after expo ure to them ⁰ She had temple on the Mons Cispius (Varro *de Ling Lat*, v, 49 Festu pp 217 261 351) out ide the gate of Cremona (Tacitus *Hist*, iii 33) and in the famous Amsanctu valley ¹¹ in the land of the Hirpini about four mile from Frigento where the gusts of sulphuretted hydrogen coming from the earth were believed to be the breath of Pluto him elf while near by was a bubbling pool giving off carbonic acid ga in such quantities a to be deadly when rai ed above the ground by the wind (Pliny *op cit*, ii 108) Mefiti ap pears to h ve originated in Central Italy but the exten sion of her cult of which little is known may be traced from Lucania across the Po into Gaul ¹¹

SCABIES

SCABIES wa a *numen* or deity who i suppo ed to h v personified di ea es of the skin characteri ed by itching

⁰ Ki el in *Janus*, 1848 iii, 612 613

¹ Fr r *Ado is*, i 204

¹¹ Wi ow, *op cit*, p 246

and a such w invoked for relief (Prudentiu *Hamar tigena*, 220) although it i ometime cl imed that h wa not n incarnation and hould not have been con idered a divinity ¹

II FOREIGN DEITY

ADONIS

ADONI, a deity developed in Syria and Phœnicia wa originally a corn spirit born in the myrtle tree which wa hi emblem, and made the subject of idyllic poetry ¹ A late importation into Greece he wa brought to Rom in partially Helleni d form identified with Attu nd connected with the cult of Magn M ter nd the D a Syria (M crobiu *op cit*, I xxi 1) A divinity to whom women appe led e peci lly in their love affair and call d the indi creet god he wa reputed to cau e the men e to return when rre ted to pr vent maiden from offering in lo ng their virginity and to give young wiv exu l pa ion ¹

ÆSCULAPIUS

ÆSCULAPIU wa the Greek god of healing A klepio who h d been brought to Rome under this Latini ed name During the evere pestilence of 293 B C, which h d afflicted the city and country with prodigious mortality the Sibylline Books had been construed as directing that A klepio mu t be brought from Epidauro but the Con ul being then fully occupied with war po tponed the matter ordering instead a supplication for one day and prayers to Asklepios (Livy, x 47) o that it w s not until

¹ K1 l i J us, 1848, n 613 14

¹ F rn ll *The Ci ts of the Gre k St tes*, n 44 48

¹⁴ Bruzon, *op c t*, pp 136 137

the following year that an embassy headed by Q. Ogulnius was sent to invite the deity to Rome. Ovid (*Metam* xv 622 ff) relates that the embassy on consulting the oracle at Delphi were informed that Apollo was not needed to diminish the grief of the city but that they should go to Epidauro and with a good omen invite him. This was done but the priest hesitating to comply with the request the divinity himself appeared to the community during the night and promised to go in the form of the snake which encircled his staff. On the following day to the surprise of the priest the god appeared in the temple in all his serpent majesty and descending to the beach leaped on board the trireme weighting it down with his great bulk and appropriating the comfortable quarter of Ogulnius. All went well until they approached the shore of Italy when a storm arose and the ship put into the harbor of Antium where stood the sanctuary of Apollo. The serpent without warning left the galley to pay a visit of respect to his father coiling himself in the top of a palm tree within the sacred precinct and the embassy were in despair until after three days he came down of his own accord and again boarded the vessel allowing it to proceed to Rome. Passing up the Tiber the people on the banks welcomed the god and burned incense in his honor but upon approaching the city the serpent refused to have risen up and returning he dashed against the mast to have anticipated the shores after which suddenly leaving the ship he disappeared in the reed bed of the *Inula Tiberina* (Livy *Epitome*, xi Valerius Maximus I viii 2 Aurelius Victor *de Viris Illustribus* 22). The embassy brought back the visible presence of the god or his incarnation, *anguem in quo ipsum numen esse constabit*, the form in which it was customary to transfer the divinity in establishing a new sanctuary.

There was a legend that the *Inula Tiberina* had been

formed by corn sown by Tarquin in the Campus Martius, but which had been cut and thrown into the river by the people and had lodged on the shallows mounds being added later and the banks raised so that the surface was capable of sustaining building (Livy II, 5) The god having indicated his choice the island sometimes called the Island of the Epidaurian serpent (Apollinaris Sidonius *Epistolæ*, I VII, 12) or the Island of Æsculapius (Suetonius *Vita Claudii*, 25) was selected as the site of his temple which was dedicated on January 1 291 B.C., and which contained statues of Hygieia and Telesphoros.¹ In commemoration of the event the festival of Æsculapius was fixed for that day and subsequently in 196 B.C., temples were built on the island in compliance with vows in honor of Jupiter (or Veiovis) and Faunus (Livy XXXIV 53) In 171 B.C., Lucretius decorated the Æsculapium with pictures taken in Greece as spoil of war (Livy XLIII, 4) and toward the end of the Republic the island which was about one thousand feet long by three hundred wide and reached by two bridges the Ponticæ from the Ianiculum and the Ponticæ Fabriciæ from the Campus Martius was made into the shape of a boat to celebrate the trireme which had brought the god to Rome travertine blocks being placed for the prow and stern while in Imperial time an obelisk in the shape of a mast stood in the center of the island Plutarch who called it the Sacred Island said that it contained temple of the god and porticoes (*Vita Pœblicolæ* 8) and it is believed that practically all of it was devoted to the sick Æsculapius had another temple in Rome believed to have been in connection with the bath of Diocletian (*CIL* I 329)¹

The old *di indigetes* who had been displaced by Apollo

¹ Be mer *L'I e tû'ra d s l'a tiquité*, p 197

¹ W1 ow *op cit*, p 30

were pushed still further into the background by the coming of Æsculapiu and even Apollo took second rank as an averter of disease. Nevertheless, writers of the later years of the Republic have little to say concerning Æsculapius and his cult, and it is believed that it played a modest part in the religion of this period. Those who appealed to the god were for the most part the humbler class of citizens who did not care to pay much (or could not) and the slave. Many masters ought to escape the burden of slave who had protracted illnesses by sending them to Æsculapiu and then neglecting them, and this became such an abuse that a law was passed which freed all slave who recovered after being sent to the sanctuary (Suetonius *op cit*, 25. Dion Kas io lx 29).

During the last centuries of the Republic several foreign deities with healing cult came to Rome where they assumed the name and attribute of Æsculapius, but his worship was the first to be derived from Greece and was the only genuine Greek foundation in the capital enjoying the authority of the Sibylline Book.¹⁷ From the moment of his arrival the god had been the divine protector of the city against pestilence and had applied his therapeutic power to the individual whence the Epidaurian Æsculapiu had precedence and official recognition and continuing to be distinguished above all others claiming his name he retained throughout his supremacy as a healer.

Asklepiad or physician priests from Epidauros accompanied the deity to Rome where their habit of cultic secrecy combined with the rule which forbade Roman to become priests of foreign worships was conducive to the continuance of their rite unchanged. They brought the sacred serpents (Pliny *op cit*, xxix 22) and dog with them (Festus p 110) so that the cultic practice

¹⁷ Fowler *Fetivals*, p 340

were the same as in Greece (Fe tu p 237 Valeriu Maximus I viii 2) consisting of ritual purification and fasting prayer sacrifice incubation magic formula and the use of rational remedial measure with a general hygienic regimen There remain no direct evidence of the use of incubation during the earlier centuries of the cult in Rome but there can be no doubt that it was practiced there as in Greece especially since prophetic oracle and divinely inspired dream were known in the worship of the old native gods and could not fail to have been used at the Æculapium though positive evidence comes only with the Flavian period (*CIL* vi 8) ¹

The Romans susceptible to the marvellous craved miracles and cures suggestive of such wondrous power of the divinity were freely noted abroad In the eye of the people Æculapius possessed not only the mystic power of a healer, but also of a preserver saving in battle protecting from murder and shipwreck and finding lost articles There was a general belief in the healing power of the hand and the sacredness of the altar and the laying on of hand was a common practice as when the hand of a divinity wiped the pest away from the children of Valerius (Valeriu Maximu II iv 5) The Maffaian Inscriptions (*CIG*, 5980) of the Insula Tiberina relate cure effected by applying the directions or oracle given in dream they were theurgic in character and symbolic magic was associated with the chthonic ritual The dream and the visions of the nocturnal visions of the god were interpreted by official *conectores* divine directions for means of cure by internal and external remedies diet regimen and other methods common to the period but although surgery was practiced by the lay practitioners of the city as proved by urgic l

¹ Thram r in *ERE* vi, 555 Pr ll r, *op cit*, pp 607 609 Dubn r *D Incubatio*, p 44

in trument and appliances of iron and bronze some beautifully inlaid with silver, now deposited in museum there is little evidence of its use at the Æsculapium.¹

Such inscriptions as the following from the work of Hieronymus Mercurialis² illustrate cultic methods

In the eddy the god [Æsculapius] admonished by the oracle answered one Gaius who was blind that he should go to the right side of the altar and worship. Afterward from the right he should go to the left, and place his five finger upon the altar and lift up his hand and lay them upon his own eye and he recovered his sight directly the people rejoicing by and rejoicing together with him that such great miracle were performed under our Emperor Antoninus

The god [Æsculapius] answered by the oracle to Lucius who had pleurisy and was depressed by every man that he should come and take from the altar some and mix them together with wine, and put them on his side and he was cured and he publicly returned thanks to the god and the people congratulated him

The god [Æsculapius] by means of the oracle admonished Iulianus who vomited blood and was depressed by every man to come and take pomegranates from the altar and eat them with honey for three days and he was cured and commencing forth he publicly returned thanks before the people (*CIG*, 5980).¹

The god [Æsculapius] admonished by means of the oracle Valerius Aper blind soldier to come and take the blood of a white cock to beat it up with honey and collyrium and for three days to put it on his eye and he came forth and gave thanks in public manner to the god.²

¹ Miln *Sergic II structures Grek and Rom Times*, pp 10
23 also W H Buckler and R C t n 'Medical and Sergic I In tru
nt found at Kolophon in *PRSM*, 1913 1914, vii, 235 ff

De Art Gy tica, Venetia 1573 b d on th Fern oll
tio

¹ W Wroth *Hygia* 1 *JHS*, 1 84 v 93 ff

Cf B sn r *op cit*, p 213

A small marble stand the base of a silver offering probably of the time of Augustus was found on the Insula Tiberina with the following inscription

To Aklepio the great god the aviator and benefactor saved by thy hand from a tumor of the spleen of which this silver model as a mark of gratitude to the god Neochres Iulianus freedman of the Imperial household

A dedication found in front of the Porta Appia from M Ulpius Honoratus to Æsculapius and Hygiea pro salute uiciorumque et L Iulii Helici medici qui curam mei diligenter egit secundum deos how the cooperation of the physician with the god ²⁴

Other inscriptions in their original form are as follows

Æsculapio et Hygie L Septimio Nigrinus Patro Colla Fribri C l Apul pro Salute uiciorum positus

Æsculapio et Hygie cetriqui huius loci salutis rib C Iul Frontonianus vetrix B F Colonia Leg U M P r dditis ibi luminibus gratias viro pro et C rterei M xim e mug et Iul Frontina Fili V S L M

Pro salute Iulii Veneris Fili dulcis in deliciis ut bellam hanc meritis cum igno Æsculapii in omni admonitu L V leri C piti Æd Ann D S P L M D D D

Nummi Æsculapi et Hygie pro salute dominor NN Augusti Antroci Vernipos ex di positus

Aklepio et Saluti Commilitonum Sex Titius Alexander Medicus Coh V pro donum dedit Augusti VIII F Flvio Sabino Colonia

Aklepio et Salute Commilitonum Coh VI pro voto suscepto Sex Titius Medicus Coh VI pro D D

Hilton *op cit*, p 7 cf Brierley *op cit*, p 212

Thiersch *ERE* vi 555

Killiam *J* s, 14 m 665 66

Patients leaving the Æculapium were required to pay when able and many left *donaria* in gratitude for services these being hung on the walls of the sanctuary. Along the approach to the island were shops for the sale of votive offerings which have been disclosed by modern excavations on the embankment of the river at this point and found to contain large numbers of tokens, image, tablet, portrait and anatomical model in bronze or terra cotta. Some are of heroic size, others how a correct anatomy and still others illustrate diseased conditions, these specimens being of almost every part of the human body, occasionally presenting section of the trunk and internal organs, while a group of father, mother and child suggests a thank offering for relief of sterility.

Beginning with the Christian era the cult of Æsculapius appears to have attracted a greater amount of attention and from the better classes of Rome so that after the first century A.D. it steadily gained influence until the time of Antoninus Pius when there was a definite revival of interest in it. This Emperor caused a coin to be struck and inscribed to Æculapius commemorating the legend of his arrival in Rome and showing the serpent god springing to the island with the river deity Tiberinus half rising from the water to receive him.⁷ From an inscription it is learned that during the reign of Antoninus there was a college of Æsculapius and Health composed of individuals who assembled on a certain day of the year made sacrifices, received small gifts and partook of a meal. The members were limited to sixty and sons succeeded to their fathers. The Æsculapium on the

⁷ L. S. Bostock, *Donaria of Medical Interest in BMJ*, 1951, 14, 21.

⁷ *Bostock's op cit*, p. 17.

Spon. *Recherches curieuses d'antiquité*, p. 326.

In ula Tiberina was probably more like a general public hospital than a sanctuary that would attract the better class and many of the wealthier people who desired the aid of the divinity sought him at other shrine. Herodian the historian relates that the Emperor Caracalla visited the shrine of Asklepios at Pergamon to obtain a cure by means of incubation and the Emperor Julian asserted that Æsculapius by indicating remedies had repeatedly cured him of his malady (Kyrillo in *Iulianum*, vii 235). Epidauro became popular with the Romans and Antoninus improved the place erecting a temple to the Epidourai the benevolent god and building just outside the sacred precinct a refuge for lying-in women and the dying. Thus Æsculapius eventually gained the confidence and veneration of the Roman people who regarded him as the most beneficent of all gods and he retained his preeminence as a divine healer until the pagan worship was suppressed proving one of the most stubborn obstacles to Christianity (Eusebius *Vita Constantini*, iii 56). The Emperor Julian endeavored to continue the cult (Kyrillo *loc cit*) and Libanius praised Æsculapius (*Epistola*, 607) while at Rome he was Lord Savior King and Friend of Man and effort was made to have his manifestations marvellous and oracles prevail against the Christian.¹

The Æsculapium on the Insula Tiberina was always the center from which the propaganda of this cult spread until Æsculapius was recognized throughout the Roman world as a divine physician devoted only to the physical welfare of suffering humanity. In this expansion throughout the Latin province the divinity was worshipped separately frequently as the Greek Asklepios once a

Petr. Marus in *Ep. cur.*, i 27-42

S. s. pr., pp. 242-65, 267-268, 282

¹ Pr. l. r. op. cit., p. 0

Deus Salutaris (*CIL* viii 20961) and also with other deities with Apollo (*CIL* iii, 2004 xiii 6621) and some times with Hygia usually called Salus Dea Salus (*CIL* vii 164, viii 2579) or Valetudo and also 'Bonæ Valetudo sacrum' (*CIL* viii 9610 Mauretania) and Bonæ De Hygiæ (*CIL* viii 20747) From Northern Africa to Caledonia, from the coast of Lusitania to the Black Sea and Syria Æsculapius and Hygia were invoked to conserve and reestablish health and were usually represented in the familiar forms of Græco Roman art In the larger part of the provinces their worship was in or near camp and their cult partook of a military character while in Syria Spain and Britain votive inscriptions have been found in which he appears as a Roman officer At Carthage the temple that crowned Byrsa hill was ascribed to Æsculapius during the Empire but doubtless it was dedicated to the Punic Eshmun with whom the divinity was frequently confused

Æsculapius was also connected with many medicinal springs in the province and inscriptions show that he was syncretized with local deities and associated with many Nymphæ who presiding over springs having medicinal properties were given appropriate epithets, Medicæ (*CIL* iii 10595) Salutares (*CIL* iii 10891 10893) and Salutiferæ (*CIL* iii 1397) and votive tablets with inscriptions have been found in Gaul Britain Spain and the Danube provinces showing that they were venerated and held in high esteem ⁴

Roman altars and other remains of the cult of Æsculapius and Hygia have been uncovered in many provinces In England the following relic have been unearthed an elaborately carved altar to Æsculapius and Salus at

Toutan, *op cit*, i 330 338

Cumont *Orient Religions*, p 21 l o Toutan *op cit*, i 33

⁴ Toutan *op cit*, i 380 381

Chester a hooded figure of Telesphoros at Birdoswald in Cumberland two hooded figures of Telesphoros from the Castle Yard at Carlisle sculptured figure of Æsculapius and Salus at Binchester an altar dedicated to Asklepios and Hygieia at Tunstall and minor evidence at Lancaster

From its first occupancy by Æsculapius until the present day, upwards of twenty two centuries the Insula Tiberina has been an Insula Sacra for the sick at Rome In A.D. 1000 Emperor Otho erected a hospital on the foundation of the ancient temple and from that time the island and hospital have borne the name San Bartolomeo What is said to be the old Æsculapian well is a prominent feature of the altar step of the present church first erected in the twelfth century and rebuilt in the seventeenth About 120 feet deep it has a circular curb of white marble carved with image of saints and the Roman till use it water for their medicinal properties Excavation on the island in 1867 exposed layers of travertine rock which formed the prow of the island boat and disclosed the remains of a human bust and the symbol of the god his staff and serpent carved on the rock but these characteristic old relics were later covered by the mud and shifting sands of the river

APOLLO

APOLLO, primarily adopted into the Roman pantheon as an averter of pestilence and later becoming a divine healer was the first of the Greek deities to be naturalized by Rome, even his name being retained unchanged in its Hellenic form

The cult of this chief god of prophecy and presiding

Born in *PRISM*, 1913-1914, VII, 71 ff

³ Holland *Platinsk u d Medizim*, p. 91 fig. 96

geniu of the Delphic oracle had been brought to Magna Græcia at so early a date that he was almost an indigenous Italian divinity. Tradition associated him with the Sibyl of Cumæ, whose oracle he was believed to have inspired so that they were regarded as his own command and when the Sibylline Books were taken over by Rome he became the leader of the Greek movement. Tarquin had been acquainted with him as the Etruscan deity Aplu who possessed a sanctuary at the home of the Tarquin family at Cære.⁷ According to tradition the King, having lived at Corinth and preferring Greek oracles to Roman ones, sent an embassy to Delphi for instruction when in difficulty (Livy 1.56) while Dionysius says (iv.69) he was the first to invoke the god for Rome on the occasion of an epidemic which had attacked children and pregnant women.

Apollo came to Rome from one of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy probably in advance of the Sibylline Books and the tradition that his earliest Italian home was Cumæ strengthened by the fact that the Senate ordered sacrifice to be made to him at that place. He was at first worshipped privately under the name Apello and at the end of the kingdom he was received in Rome as a divine healer but though it has been stated that he was invoked during the plague of 464-463 B.C. the first definite record of the appeal to him to stay the pestilence of 433 B.C. In recognition of his divine assistance at this time a temple was vowed to him, this being placed outside the *pomærium* in the Flaminian Field before the Porta Carmentalis and being dedicated in 431 B.C. to Apollo Medicus *pro valetudine Populi Romani* (Livy

⁷ Fowler *op cit*, p. 181

² Wilson, *op cit*, p. 293

Carter, *op cit*, p. 83

iv 25 29) At some later period Apollo developed a cult as a healing divinity ⁴⁰

Apollo with others was invoked at the first *lectisternum* during the intractable pestilence of 399 B C (Livy v 13) During the plague of 212 B C aid was sought from him and Latona while the Apollinarian games were instituted and celebrated yearly by order of the Prætors until in 208 B C, because of a protracted epidemic they were vowed to be held forever on the thirteenth of July (*ib*, xxvi 23) ⁴¹ He was invoked during the pestilence of 181

C with Æsculapius and Salus and in gratitude for their services M Fulvius dedicated a temple to him a Apollo Medicus in 180 B C (*ib*, xl 51) gilded statues of the three deities being placed within the shrine (*ib*, xl 37) The fane stood outside the Porta Carmentalis on the site of former Apollinar (*ib*, iii 63) and in view of the positive statement of Asconius ⁴² that it was the only one to the god in Rome until the Palatine temple of Augustus it was in all probability a restoration

Apollo had usurped a large share of the functions of the old Roman deities as averters of disease and in his turn he was overshadowed by the arrival of Æsculapius His cult had never exercised any important religious or political influence in Rome and apparently his worship gradually declined until after the battle of Actium when Augustus ascribing his success to the assistance given by the god and in recognition of his favor restored the temple of the divinity on the promontory of Actium embellished it with a portion of the spoils and made the worship of the deity a family cult In 28 B C Augustus erected a temple of unusual splendor to the god on his private property on the Palatine and in it he placed the

⁴⁰ Thraemer in *ERE* vi, 554 also Wissowa *op cit*, p 294

⁴¹ Fowl *op cit*, pp 179 180

⁴² Ed Kießling and Scholl Berlin 1875 p 81

triad of Apollo Latona and Diana with the new Greek ritual (Dionysius Halicarnasensis XII ix 2)

Apollo became identified with Soranus in Etruria and the celebrated shrine on the summit of Mount Soracte was sacred to him as Apollo Soranus the worshipper at this fane sacrificing to him annually by passing through the flame and presiding with undaunted foot the burning coal (Vergil *op cit*, xi 785 788) whence his priests the *Hirpi* were exempted from military service (Pliny *op cit*, vii 2)

After Apollo became prominent in general Roman religion he was made to say The healing art is my discovery and throughout the world I am honored as the bearer of help and the properties of simples are subject to us (Ovid *op cit*, i, 521 522) while Horace (*op cit*, 60) addresses him

Thou who restorest with thy healing art
The weakened limb of the body

In Imperial time Apollo was believed to be the cause of disease as well as a healer and his cure seems to have been wrought by his general divine power and by symbolic magic although the usual ritual of religion the bringing of supplications and of expiatory rites with sacrificial regimen and remedies were observed⁴ It is claimed that incubation was practiced in his cult but although this is entirely probable positive evidence is lacking Those who sought his aid addressed him as Apollo Salutaris et Medicinalis as appears on a Roman dedication (*CIL* vi, 39) and the details were entrusted to Vestals who invoked the god crying aloud Apollo Medice Apollo Pæan (Macrobius *op cit*, I xvii 15) and giving medicine in a state of nakedness hence nudity

⁴ Kirschl in *Janus*, 184 iii 659

wa believed to be a magic preventive ⁴⁴ The patient must have fa ted and while touching him with the back of her hand the Vestal must ay Apollo forbid a disea e to increase which a naked virgin restrains ⁴ (Pliny *op cit*, xxvi 60) this being repeated thrice after she with draws her hand and both of them spitting on the ground each time

The cult of Apollo es entially in the phase of healing extended to the Latin provinces where the god wa worhipped with Diana but more frequently separately He wa often a sociated with Æsculapiu (*CIL* iii 2004 xiii 6621) physician invoked him (*CIL* xiii 5079) and he had a cult at thermal spring a at Aquæ Calidæ in Gaul (*CIL* ii 4487 4490) He wa adored in Gaul a a healer (Apollinem morbo depellere Cæsar *de Bello Gallico*, vi 17), and his worship spread in the Rhine and Danube valleys and to Britain Apollo was identified with the Celtic gods Belenu Borvo Grannos and others (*CIL* vi 36 iii 5586) ⁴

HYGIA

SEE under the heading SALUS

ISIS

THE worship of I is the most beloved and most popular goddess of the Egyptian pantheon wa united to that of Serapi in a cult which spread to the majority of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean and to the Latin provinces Posses ing many religiou features which had popularized the adoration of Demeter and Diony o and famed for healing it had been well re

⁴⁴ E Ries, in Pauly Wi owa i 35

⁴ N g t Apollo pest m po s cre cere, cui nud virgo r stinguat' H i, *op cit*, p 506

⁴ Wi ow *op cit*, p 297 l o Tout in *op cit*, i 314 318

ceived in Greece where it had been partially Hellenized and whence it had been brought to Magna Græcia established at Puteoli and Pompeii⁷ and invaded Rome but its temple there had been destroyed in 217 B C by order of the Senate (Valerius Maximus i 3)⁸ During the time of Sulla (Apuleius *Metamorphoses* xi 30) it was introduced into Rome at first as a private worship Anubis and Harpocrate being associated with the cult in minor capacities and the memory of Osiris being particularly honored The rituals were symbolic and mysterious but they appealed to the imagination of the people brought in contact with them and for the first time in Rome the cult gave its faithful initiate a surance of purification forgiveness of sin communion with deity regeneration of the soul and blessed immortality⁹ Organized by its Egyptian priest the worship attracted enthusiastic adherents who rapidly grew in numbers Its altar invaded the Capitoline (Ovid *op cit*, xv 826 828 Vergil *op cit*, viii 696 700 Propertius IV x 39 46) its practice created official distrust and because the augur interpreted certain prodigies as evidence of the jealousy of the gods on account of the invasion the Senate in 58 B C, ordered the destruction of all the altars of the cult fifty three in number The altars were rebuilt and again officially destroyed in 54 50 and 48 B C but these repressive measures did little to restrain the ardor of its worshippers whose influence became so great that in 43 B C, the triumvir withdrew active opposition and decreed a temple, which however was not built until much later (Dion Cassius, xl 47 xlvii 15) Augustus forbade its chapel within the *pomœrium* (Suetonius *Vit Aug*, 93) but this order was disregarded Agrippa in 21 B C, denied

⁷ Wissowa *op cit*, pp 351 359

⁸ T ubner edition, H l m, d 1865 p 17

⁹ Cumont, *op cit*, p 100

the cult any privileges within even and a half tade of the city limits (Dion Ka sios liii 2) In A D 19 owing to the debauching of a noble lady in one of the temple Tiberius threw the image of Isi into the Tiber destroyed the shrine and crucified or banished the priest (Jose phu *Antiquitates*, xviii 65 ff cf Tacitus *Ann*, ii 85) Under Caligula however the cult appears to have been recognized by the State and although it received no public funds a temple to Isi Campensis was erected outside the *pomœrium* on the Campus Martiu in A D 39 (Apuleius *op cit*, xi 96) In A D 71 Vespasian and Titu pa ed the night before their triumph at this hrine and the proces ion started from it (Josephus *de Bello Iudanco*, vii 123), Domitian escaped from the populace in the g rb of a priest of I i and after the destruction of the temple by the fire of A D 80 he and Alexander Sev rus and Diocletian replaced it by the most plendid tructure in Rome (Suetoniu *Vita Domitiani*, l Eutro pius VII xxiii 5) ° These favor to Isis were the first examples of an essentially popular religious movement triumphing over the continued resistance of the public authorities and official clergy ¹ and ignali ed the progress of Oriental religion in the Occident No repression was now exercised against the cult outside the city and its popularity pread from the Sahara to Britain and the mouth of the Danube After the restrictions excluding foreign wor hip from within the *pomœrium* were removed in the third century A D, Caracalla built a great temple to I i and Serapis on the Quirinal (*CIL* vi 570 573) and perhaps the I eum et Serapeum on the Cælian Hill (Scriptore Hi toriæ Augustæ *Triginta Tyranni*, xxv 4)

Pl tn r *Th Topogr phy nd Mo e ts of A cent Ro e*, pp 2 358

¹ Cu ont *op cit*, p 1

During its earlier years in Rome the worship drew its support mostly from the poorer classes and many of the devotees were the dissolute men and women of the city who used the cult as a cloak for their orgies (e.g. Juvenal *op. cit.*, vi 486 ff.) but later it attracted many of the best patrician families and Emperors were among its adherents. From the time of the Antonine when the cult reached its fullest development it was the most bitter and effective opponent of Christianity until paganism was proscribed while during the three months of the uprising of Eugenius in A.D. 394 and until his final overthrow it was revived with great enthusiasm a magnificent festival being held in honor of the goddess.

Of all the foreign cults in Rome that of Isis and Serapis said to have been the most civilized and to this fact are due its success and continued worship in the Latin world during five centuries. It had some of the very qualities which existed in Christianity in a fuller and perhaps less artificial form so that the transition to Christianity was quite as much a process of blending as a violent displacement.

Isis a divinity of universal character embracing the virtues of all other goddesses was the tutelary deity of women the goddess of love fertility and healing to whom all could appeal with assurance of sympathy and aid and she was loved with a passionate devotion by a large number of enthusiastic worshippers.

The priesthood of the cult was organized after the Egyptian model. Both the priests and priestesses were carefully chosen trained in cultic usages and punctilious in their daily duties. The heads and faces of the priests

Carter *Religious Life*, pp. 84 ff.

G. Showers in 'I 1' in *ERE* vii 435-437. L. O. Preller, *op. cit.*, ii 373-385. Marquardt *op. cit.*, iii 77-81.

Wilson *op. cit.*, p. 357.

were haven and they wore white linen. Worshippers were assured that if they would purify the body, Isis would cleanse the soul; wherefore they appointed night sacred to Isis, which they passed in her temple. The cultic ceremonies were attractive, fascinating, and impressive in dignity and solemnity. Two services were held each day. In the early morning the temple was opened by priests who 'waked the deity, unveiled and refreshed the image, lighted the fire, and with prayers, sacrifice and libations greeted the dawn with loud acclamation' (Apuleius, *op. cit.*, xi, 20). In the afternoon a vase of consecrated water from the Nile was held before the people as the first principle of all things (Martial X, xlviii, 1). Ancient hymns of divine efficacy were intoned with the playing of the flute; the image was veiled; the worshippers bade farewell to the day, and the temple was closed.

The festival of Isis were held from October 28 to November 3, the chief *motif* of the festival being a passion play commemorating by a mystic drama the principal events in the life of Osiris: his struggles, his death, the search for and the discovery of his body, and his resurrection, all enacted with the aid of a large chorus. These events were celebrated with appropriate ceremonies on different days, and the mourning over the death of the god was followed by exultations over the finding of Osiris, commemorated by the *Hilaria* on October 31, the triumph of life over death, and the rejoicings were continued for three days.

The healing function of Isis (Diodorus I, 25) were in all essential respects those of Serapis, except that she was the especial favorite of women. Isis was usually represented as wearing one or another of her attributes on the head: the lotus (resurrection), the uræus, or

Lafaye, *Histoire d'Égypte de divinité d'Alexandrie, Serapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis, hors de l'Égypte*, pp. 167-170.

ome cereal plant such a wheat as the goddess of fertility and vegetation (Apuleius *op cit*, xi 3)

MAGNA MATER

MAGNA MATER (an abbreviated form for Mater Deum Magna Idæa) the great Asiatic Mother Goddess and the Mother of the God was brought to Rome as a Hellenic divinity during the second Punic War when the Roman State was threatened and when the people were in danger of demoralization through belief that they had incurred the hatred of some deity. All religious expedients had been tried in vain when the Decemviri discovered in the

Books that Italy could be freed only by bringing from Pessinus in Galatia the sacred stone representing the goddess. Accordingly the divinity in the form of a black meteorite was formally received at Rome in 204 B.C. by the most worthy Roman and with great pomp and solemnity was escorted to the temple of Victory on the Palatine (Livy xxix 10, 14, Ovid *Fasti*, iv 255 ff.) The crop at once improved. Hannibal was forced out of Italy and the goddess having accomplished all that had been expected of her was honored by being admitted to State worship while a temple *Ædē Matrī Deum Magnæ Idææ* was erected on the Palatine and dedicated to her April 10 191 B.C. Like other Greek worship it was placed under the charge of the Decemviri. Her festival the Megalesia was held on April 4 the anniversary of her entry into Rome and was celebrated by the matrons of the city being accompanied by civic play the *Ludi Megalenses* (Livy xxxvi 36) which continued from April 4 to 10 (*CIL* i 314). Her temple was burned in A.D. 3 (Valerius Maximus I viii 11) but was restored by Augustus (*Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv 8).

Magna Mater represented the broad universal conception of a Mother Goddess embracing the idea underlying

ing the many Oriental goddesses. They were held to be identical with her and their personalities when brought to Rome under their local names were either blended with her so they lost their identity as Rhea, Kybele and Mâ or they became variants with a closely related worship as Isis, Atargatis (Dea Syria), Tanit (De Cælestis) and Mâ Bellona. Magna Mater was also assimilated to the Roman earth goddess Ops whose worship was always distinct and to Mater Matuta in her obstetric function.

In coming to Rome Magna Mater was accompanied by her Phrygian Korymbant, the eunuch priest called Galli, who appeared in woman's dress. Their worship was enthusiastic and wild and was accompanied by orgiastic barbaric Oriental rites while their public processions were characterized by dancing and by noisy clashing of cymbals. Rome was scandalized but the cult so fascinated and excited the ardor of the lower classes that it was not only placed under the supervision of the Decemviri but anticipating trouble the Senate adopted restrictive police regulations confining the pageants to certain days of the year and limiting the strange ceremonies to the precincts of the Palatine temple (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanæ*, II, xix, 4 ff; Ovid *Fasts*, iv, 377). Roman citizens were forbidden to become priest of the rite or to attend its ceremonies and these measures were continued until the Empire only to be relaxed in the second century A.D., when the worship was reorganized and the Archigalli and all priest and priestesses were Romans confirmed by the Quindecimviri.

The more extravagant developments were evolved during the Empire. Attis and Adonis had been brought to

Rome with their respective female cult and Attis finally became the more prominent religious figure even overshadowing Magna Mater in her own realm while festivals were organized to celebrate the myth of the vegetation deities and to commemorate their deaths and revivification symbolic of the disappearance of vegetation in the fall and its revival in the spring (Plutarch *de Iside et Osiride*, 69) These feasts and their pageants were conducted in the name of Magna Mater and were first introduced by Claudius for March 27 but later were extended to even days The *Canna intrat* was celebrated on March 15, the *Arbor intrat*, on the twenty-second the *Sanguen*, when devotees madly performed self-mutilation on the twenty-fourth the *Hilaria*, when the festival reached its zenith in the wild rejoicing of the worshippers on the reawakening of Attis on the twenty-fifth followed by a day of rest the *Requies*, on the twenty-sixth The only part of the ceremony in which the State and citizens had a share was the *Lavatio*,⁷ directed by the Quindecimviri when on March 27 the symbol of the goddess (the meteoric stone) was drawn in a wagon by oxen to the Porta Capena and bathed in the *Almo* a tributary of the Tiber (Lucan 1.599 f) At a later date self-mutilation on the day of blood was symbolized by an incision in the arm of the chief priest and sprinkling the blood (Tertullian *Apol*, 25) The *taurobolium*, the baptism in the blood of the bull also a prominent feature of Mithraism was celebrated in this cult on March 28 as a symbol of purification and as a dedication to the priesthood⁸ and after undergoing both the *taurobolium* and *criobolium* (baptism in the blood of a ram) worshippers were born again for eternal life (*renatu ad æternum*)

⁷ Frazer, *op cit*, II 26274 also Parsons *ERE* VIII 850

⁸ Showman *Taurobolium*, in *ERE* XII 214 215 also Frazer *op cit*, I, 274 275

CIL vi 510) In the later Imperial period a sanctuary of Magna Mater stood on the right bank of the Tiber on the site of the present Vatican grounds and excavation especially those for the foundations of the Basilica of St Peter have disclosed so many taurobolium altars that this was apparently the chief center of the ceremony (*CIL* vi 497 504 *IG* xiv 1019 1020)

The cult of Magna Mater became influential in Rome during the Empire and was among the most prominent in its opposition to Christianity until the pagan worship was suppressed but it is claimed that its influence was always harmful and that it caused more demoralization among the people than all the other eastern rites

Healing was a prominent feature of the cultic functions. Sterile women appealed to the goddesses for fertility and were laid over the loins by the Galli both at the temples and during the procession on the streets while metragyrtes (minor officials of the cult) went through city and country attending the sick and selling images of the goddess amulets which were assumed to cure all ills and especially talismans of the phallus carved from a pomegranate root

MITHRAS

MITHRA was an ancient Indo-Iranian divinity of heavenly light of righteousness and of the plighted word and he was the last of the Oriental religions that reached Rome being brought there about 67 B.C. by pirates of Asia Minor captured by Pompey (Plutarch *Vita Pompei*, 24). The cult found favor among the sailor and soldier who worshipped Mithra as the protecting genius of arms and

J. S. Reid 'Action', 1 *ERE* ii 107. Also G. Showers, *Criobolus* in *ERE* iv 314.

^o Bruno, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136. Also W. L. How, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4, 317-326.

the tutelary deity of armies ¹ and thanks to the ardent support of the troops the worship spread rapidly throughout the Roman provinces especially Gaul Britain Germania and the valley of the Danube where many centers of Mithraism were established while slaves and freedmen of private households of Rome and many who were government officials were enthusiastic devotees and active in propagating the new religion among the people. The cult attracted little attention till toward the end of the first century A.D. ² but it had slowly penetrated among the masses and now was steadily permeating the better classes until it finally won the support of the cream of Roman society and of the highest officials of the State ³ so that during the third and fourth centuries, the worship of Mithras became by far the most influential of all the Oriental rites before which others faded into comparative insignificance ⁴. The cult was the chief exponent of the scientific method of divination by astrology and penetrated under cover of the sidereal theology taught by the Magi and Chaldeans but although its doctrines were accepted it never received the authority of a State religion. Representing a pantheistic unwarlike Emperors adopted it and regarded Mithras as the protecting divinity of their imperial power as the master and god by right of birth this being illustrated by the dedication of an altar to Mithras *fautor imperii* by Diocletian at Carnuntum on the Danube in A.D. 307. The ungod Elagabal of Emesa set up early in

¹ Cumont *op cit*, p. 144

H. S. Jones 'Mithraism' in *ERE* viii, 755-759

It is believed that Constantine's conversion of the initiate (*CIL* vi 2271) his successors were lenient toward the cult, and Alexander Severus showed Mithraism the respect paid to Christianity

² Cartier, *op cit*, pp. 87-88

Cumont *op cit*, p. 150

Probably the form for the Hebrew word meaning Mountain God

the third century A.D., was superseded by the Aurelian State cult of Sol Invictus a name under which Mithra was absorbed into the solar pantheon as 'invictus Mithras' and 'deus Sol invictus Mithras' and until the conquest of Constantine overwhelmed paganism Mithraism made fair to become a world wide religion

Mithra was beneficent the friend of mankind who had furnished the moisture essential to life and was represented as sacrificing the bull, the source of all generation by whose death he overcame unrighteousness and preading its blood which impregnated all things brought about fertility and regeneration Mithra personified moral light truth and justice the two essentials developed in the Mithraic theology a necessary for purity moral and mystic and the conception of the destiny of the soul after death Life was an ordeal a struggle against evil Purity in thought word and action was indispensable to victory After death came the judgment the soul being condemned to torture in the abyss with Ahriman or protected and assisted by Mithras shaking off all earthly taint was accorded the privilege of returning through the seven planetary spheres to the eighth heaven and there enjoying the sublime essence the light in which the gods sojourned in an eternal beatitude The romantic story of Mithra's struggles for humanity as the minister of Ahura Mazda together with the profoundly religious content of his doctrines of redemption salvation and the attainment of ideal hopes of immortality of which the *taurobolium* or baptism of blood was the pledge made the strongest possible appeal to the deepest emotion while initiation in the seven grades of the Mithraic Mysteries from Corax (the Raven) to Pater (Father) (*CIL* vi 749 753 Jerome *Epistolæ*, cxi *ad Lætam*, Tertullian

⁷ Reinach, *Cults, Myths, and Religions*, pp 180 ff

Frazier *op cit*, i 274 also Showerman in *ERE* xii 214 215

op cit, 8) gave full assurance of forgiveness of sin by expiation and personal consecration to the god Mithraism a religion of revelation which brought light and purity to the mind of men banished all evil and inculcated the brotherhood of man became the most formidable antagonist of Christianity and at one time threatened to prevail over it²

Little is known of the rite of the cult which appear to have consisted in the usual lustration libation and sacrifice and in addition initiation in the Mysteries with their revelation. The seven degrees of Mithraism corresponded to the seven zones through which the soul of the deceased must pass for its several transformations before reaching that of eternal peace. The initiation which gave the worshipper its originality and strength, was designed as an earthly rehearsal to prepare the soul for the vicissitude it was assumed it would meet on its journey after death and the requirement for passage through the gate of each of the seven to its home of eternal rest.³ The ceremonies conducted in costume and character appropriate to the several grades were asserted to have been ordeal by fire cold hunger thirst etc with the requirement of showing steadfastness in the face of threat of death (Tertullian *de Corona*, 15). The community of the cult acquired an international solidarity. The members were called brothers (*fratres*) and all others were excluded from its temples.⁴ The ceremonies of the cult were conducted in small underground chapels (*spelæa* or *Mithræa*, *CIL* III 4420) holding not more than one hundred each on the walls of which were depicted the laying of the bull by the god. The largest Mithræum known was discovered in 1912 in the Thermæ Caracallæ

Carter *op cit*, pp 120 ff, 138 ff

² Jones in *ERE* VIII 756 also Eldredge, *Kitharos*, p 32

³ Tout in *op cit* II 121 177

in Rome with an inscription to Zeus Helios Serapis Mithra Mithraism was essentially a man's religion and since its votaries wished their wife to have similar religious advantage a union was made with certain female cult which supplied to them what Mithraism could not offer a notable example being the alliance with the worship of Magna Mater.⁷

The priests of Mithras were *pater mater* in the art of magic and the pseudo science of astrology and the cult concerned itself with political science etiquette and personal affair Healing was a prominent part of the cult functions and the priests cured the sick by divination astrology magic and the use of medicinal herbs which had sprung from the blood of the bull.⁷

The festival of December 25 sacred to Sol Invictus (*Natales invicti Solis*) was in practice a festival of the nativity of Mithras the Unconquered Sun (*Soli invicto Mithræ*)⁷⁴ although the rites were addressed to the Sun the State deity.⁷ In the fourth century A.D., the day was adopted by the Western and Eastern branches of the Christian Church (at Antioch about A.D. 375) as the true date of the Nativity of Christ.

SABAZIUS

SABAZIUS, originally a Thracian or Phrygian deity of a nature similar to that of Dionysos was the presiding divinity of mystic and orgiastic cult which invaded Rome from Greece The Romans associated him with Jupiter a Jupiter Sabazium but though it is said that he was known in Rome during the Republic there appears to be

Cumont, *Mystère*, p. 179 also Jones *op. cit.*, in *ERE* viii 759

⁷ Bruon *op. cit.*, pp. 13-138

⁷⁴ Cumont *Textes*, ii, 9 ff

⁷ Wiss *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91

⁷ Fraser *op. cit.*, i, 302-305

no positive proof that the cult and its mysteries the *Sacra Savadia*, gained a foothold in the city and in Italy before A.D. 2.⁷⁷ The worship was attached to that of Magna Mater and was finally absorbed by it. In the late period holy marriages or sex communion with the god or goddess was a part of its mystery as conveying a sense of deity and this was assailed as obscene by the early Christian Fathers though it was claimed that the ritual was only symbolic and was at most only very indirectly detrimental to morals.

Sabaui was a healing deity acclaimed as a second Æsculapius. His hand had both prophylactic and therapeutic power and healing by the laying on of hands was common in his cult. The right hand of the god placed on the abdomen ward off evil assisted childbirth and effected delivery while with at least three fingers outstretched it was used in healing and as a symbol of protection and blessing. It was customary for women who had been admitted in confinement to dedicate votive hands to Sabaui in gratitude and many such offerings have been found with fingers open and often with figure of animal or of the eagle and the eagle stone carved upon them, supposed to represent the healing hand of Sabaui.⁷⁸ The serpent was the emblem of the divinity and his initiates wore a golden snake attached to the breast of their garments (Clemens Alexandrinus *Protrepticus* II 16 p. 14 ed. Potter).

SERAPIS

SERAPIS was a prominent divinity of the later Egyptian pantheon who through the influence of Ptolemy I. supplanted Osiris and Apis acquired their function and

⁷⁷ Wilton, *op. cit.*, p. 376

⁷⁸ Winckelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 18, 28

attributes and was joined with I 1 in worship. The cult had gained fame for cures at Alexandria and had reached Rome with its prestige enhanced by the success it had won in Greece.⁷

Serapis celebrated as a healer was easily the leader of all the foreign healing deities who came to Rome in rivalry with Æsculapius whether claiming his name or arrogating an equality in therapeutic power. And his method were singularly like those in vogue in the cult of the Greek Asklepios at Pergamon and elsewhere which had been adopted at Alexandria.⁸ Its essential features were incubation either by the patient themselves by friend or by priests with hieratic interpretation divination magic formula and incantation medicine diet and general hygienic measures. Suppliants after undergoing a ceremonial purification made sacrifice before passing the night in the temple and while they slept the god and his attendant visited them often touched the diseased part and applied some remedy. Dream and vision were interpreted and if the cure had not been effected by a miracle the divine directions for healing were followed (Iamblichus *de Mysteries*, III, 3 Artemidorus IV 22). Many of the priests of Isis and Serapis are said to have been educated physicians who prescribed for the patient according to their technical knowledge and pursued a systematic treatment.¹

Isis who was invoked by women especially for the trouble peculiar to their sex conferred fertility and gave nursing mothers full breasts while nursing women applied at the temple for employment and after swearing that they were free from all disease underwent a complete and searching physical examination by the priest

⁷ J. G. Miln, *Greece Egypt in Religion* I *ERE* VI, 37-378
Wissow *op cit*, pp 351-359, also Bruzon, *op cit*, p 137

¹ Bruzon *loc cit*

If approved the priest consecrated the first milk pressed from the breast and the women remained as wet nurse for hire if free women or for sale if slave.¹

The wall of the temple of Isis and Serapis were adorned by numerous votive tablet inscription and anatomical model many of which were of the male and female genital organ. One of the inscription was the gift of a man named Saurana in recognition of the cure of his son and another text declares that Serapis directed two sick men to go to Vespasian and allow him to touch the one with his pittle and the other with his foot thus healing blindness and a crippled hand (Suetonius *Vita Vesp*, 7 Tacitus *Hist*, iv 81). A votive medallion to Serapis has been found showing the mystic tripod and the attribute of Æsculapius. The tripod is supported upon a vase standing on the head of three ram and encircled by a serpent whose head is raised above the vase as if to partake of its content and at the base are three cock eating sacred barley.²

The following inscription expressing thank to the deities for a return of health have been found.³

Isis acris L. M. g. Phileas V. Vir Aquil ob alut Grati
tamen Filii et Grati

Isidis et Serapis acrum ex voto pro filiolis alute uscepto
S. uran fecit

ISIPDM Isidis lutum pro al. Q. Vrgili. Modest
C. ia Mat VSD

Serapis was usually represented with the emblems of Æsculapius the serpent and staff and on an ancient

¹ ² F. Buret *L. Médecine chez le Romain* vant l'ère chrétienne
in *Janus*, 1896 i 522

Kissel, in *Janus*, 1848 iii 670 also Sprungel *op cit*, i, 184

³ Sprungel *op cit*, i, 183 i 5

Kissel *op cit*

monument the god is shown with the serpent coiled around his body and an aureole upon the head ⁴

(For the history of the cult in Rome and for its general character see under the heading Isis)

Supplement to Chapter VII

The following are a few examples of minor Roman functional deities and *numina* who supervised some of the less prominent phases of divine activity with prescribed subdivision of duties illustrated by auxiliary divinities in the cult of Iuno Lucina and Diana especially in relation to protection physiologically of conception and human development of (A) conception gestation and birth and (B) the care and growth of children from infancy to the maturity of adult life

(A) Minor Deities and Numina Associated with Child Bearing

ANTVO TA, Porrima Prorsa and Prosa were practically identical and were invoked for head presentation and easy delivery (Macrobius *Saturnalia*, I vii 20 Ovid *Fasts*, i 633 636 Varro *apud* Aulus Gellius XVI xvi 4 ff)

AVRUNCUWA a deity who guarded women during parturition and afterward from the assault of Silvanus (Varro *de Ling Lat*, VII v 100 Aulus Gellius V xii)

CANDELIFA lighted and carried the candle during confinement (Tertullian *ad Nativitates*, ii 11)

CINXIA loosened the bride's girdle after marriage (Festus p 92)

CURITIS protected married women and gave them promise of strong children (*ib*, p 147)

DECIMA, one of the Fates guarded women during the tenth lunar month of pregnancy determined the date of delivery and presided over the accouchement (Aulus Gellius III xvi 10 11)

DEVERRA, with Intercidona and Pilumnus guarded the young mother from attack of Silvanus one striking the threshold with an axe and the other with a pestle while Deverra swept it with a broom to prevent him from entering the house (Augustine *de Civitate Dei*, vi 9)

FEBRUA was a goddess of purification who presided over the delivery of the after birth and over purgation (Festus p 85)

FEBRUUS (and Februi) purified women to favor fecundity and cooperated with the Luperci at the Lupercalia to drive away the hostile spirit that prevented impregnation What Februi did for women Februus did for men (*ib*)

FLUONIA (or Fluona) topped the men after conception and prevented hemorrhage during pregnancy (Pulverius p 92)

INTERCIDONA guarded the navel and cooperated with Pilumnus and Deverra in protecting the lying in woman against Silvanus (Augustine *loc cit*)

MINA presided over menstruation inducing it during adolescence and remaining idle during pregnancy (Augustine *op cit*, iv 11 vii 2 3)

NONA, one of the Fates cooperated with Decima in determining the proper date of birth (Varro *apud Aulus Gellius* III, xvi 10 Tertullian *de Anima*, 37)

NUMERIA, the goddess of counting was also the divinity of speedy successful births (Varro *apud Nonius* p 352)

OPIGENA, a divine midwife aided in child birth particularly in the cult of Iuno Lucina (Festus p 200)

PARTULA presided over the delivery and placed the binder (Tertullian, *loc cit*)

PERFICA was a completing goddess who presided over coition (Arnobius *adversus Nationes*, iv 131)

PERTUNDA presided over the first coition (Arnobius *loc cit*, Augustine *op cit*, vi 9)

POPULONA, a phase of Iuno protected against deva-tation and promoted an increase in population (Augustine *op cit*, vi 10)

PORRIMA, see Antevorta

POSTVORTA presided over breech presentation (Varro *apud Aulus Gellius* XVI xvi 4 ff)

PREMA presided over the coition of newly married couple (Augustine *op cit*, vi 9 note 3)

PRORSA (or Pro) see Antevorta

SENTINUS and Sentina gave the embryo enation (Tertullian *ad Nationes*, ii 11 Augustine *op cit*, vii 23)

SUBIGUS was the tutelary god of the wedding night (Augustine *op cit*, vi 9)

VAGITANUS opened the mouth for the first cry and promoted breathing and qualling (Varro *apud Aulus Gellius* XVI xvii 2)

VITUMNUS bestowed upon the child the faculty of life (Tertullian *loc cit*, Augustine *op cit*, vii 23)

(B) *Minor Deities and Numina Associated with the Care and Growth of Children from Infancy to Maturity*

ABEONA watched over the goings of the child (Augustine, *op cit*, iv 21 vii 3)

ADEONA watched over the comings of the child (Augustine *loc cit*)

AGENORIA bestowed the power of reaction to stimulation (Augustine *op cit*, iv 11)

ALEMONA presided over the nutrition of the embryo and child (Tertullian *de Anima* 37)

CATIUS, a protector of boys, awakened and molded the child's intellect (Augustine *op cit*, iv 21)

CUBA presided over the passing of the child from the mother to the cradle and blessed it to sleep (Varro *apud* Donatus in *Terentii Phormionem*, I 15 Augustine *op cit*, iv 11 vii 11)

CUNINA protected the infant in the cradle (Varro *apud* Nonius p 167)

DOMIDUCUS presided over conducting the bride to her husband and new home (Augustine *op cit*, vi 9) while Domiduca led children home (Tertullian *ad Natrones*, ii 11)

EDUSA taught the infant to take food and was invoked to bless its first nourishment (Varro *apud* Nonius p 108, *id*, *apud* Donatus *loc cit*, Tertullian *loc cit*, Augustine *op cit*, iv 11 xxxiv 6 9)

FABULINUS awakened the understanding and taught the child the articulation of words (Varro, *apud* Nonius p 532)

FATA SCRIBUNDA recorded the destiny of the child as determined by Fatum but during the first week of its life before it was inscribed the Roman prayed that it might be favorable (Tertullian *de Anima*, 39 Aulus Gellius II xvi 9 11)

FORTUNA BARBATA provided for the growth of the beard (Augustine *op cit*, iv 11)

ITERDUCA guarded the child in its journeyings to and from school (Augustine *op cit*, vi 9 vii 3)

IUGA, or Iugali , originated the marriage bond and carried the courting to engagement (Fe tus p 63)

IUGATINUS wa the god of marriage (Augustine *op cit* , iv 11 vi 9)

IUVENTAS, the goddess of youth beautified and guided youthful development (Augustine *op cit* , iv 11 Tertullian *ad Nationes* , ii 11)

LATIUS awakened and molded the intellect (ee Fabul nu) (Noniu p 532)

LEVANA supervised the raising of the infant from the ground by the father (ee Op) and bore witne to it legitimacy (Tertullian and Augustine *loc cit*)

LOCUTIUS taught the child to speak correctly (Tertullian *loc cit* , Nonius *loc cit* , Augustine *op cit* , iv 21 vii 3)

MENS wa the goddess who conferred high intellectu l power (Noniu *loc cit* , Augustine *op cit* iv 21)

NUNDINA supervised the purification and naming of children which took place on the eighth day for girl and on the ninth day for boy the *dies lustricus*, when they were adopted by the family and received their name and the *billu*, or amulet which they wore as a protection against all evil especially orcery (Macrobius *op cit* , I xvi 36)

OSSIPAGA presided over the growth and hardening of the bone of the embryo and child (Arnobius *op cit* , IV vii 8)

PARCA wa one of the Fates who determined the destiny of the child about one week after birth (Arnobius *op cit* iv, 85 Aulus Gellius III xvi, 9 11)

PAVENTIA guarded the infant from all causes of sudden terror and fright (Tertullian *loc cit* , Augustine *op cit* , iv 11)

POTINA presided over the child drinking and sacrifices were made to bless the first liquid which the infant took (Tertullian and Augustine, *loc. cit.*, Varro *apud* Nonius p 108 *id.*, *apud* Donatus in *Terentii Phormionem*, I 1 15)

RUMINA (or Rumilia) caused the breast to swell and presided over the suckling of the infant (Tertullian and Augustine *loc. cit.*)

SENTIA gave the child discernment and wisdom (Augustine *op. cit.*, IV 11)

STATULINUS, Statutus and Statina were divinites who taught the child to stand and walk (Varro *apud* Nonius p 532 Tertullian *de Anima*, 39)

STIMULA made the child enervate to impregnation that resulted in action (Augustine *loc. cit.*)

VATICANUS was the maker and developer of the human voice, the first cry of the infant corresponding to the first syllable of its future name (Varro *apud* Aulus Gellius XVI, XXXVII Augustine *op. cit.*, VII 2)

VENILIA promised future success for the child (Augustine *op. cit.*, VII 22)

VIRGINIS presided over the loss of maidenhood and made the girl a married woman (Augustine *op. cit.* IV 11 VI 9)

VOLUMNUS and Volumna gave the child the will to do right (Augustine *op. cit.*, IV 21 VII 3)

VOLUPA granted the capacity for pleasure and present enjoyment (Tertullian *ad Nationes* II 11 Augustine *op. cit.*, IV 8 11)

CHAPTER EIGHT
CELTIC GODS



CHAPTER EIGHT

THE HEALING GODS OF THE ANCIENT CELTS

PART I GENERAL SURVEY

The ancient Celts and their records

THE earliest home of the Celts in Europe seem to have been in the basin of the upper Danube in the basin of the Main to the east of the Rhine and in the areas corresponding to modern Baden Wurttemberg and Bavaria spreading thence to Gaul the British Isles Spain and northern Italy while to the east they migrated to Pannonia Illyria and Dacia and even to Asia Minor¹ Their ancient beliefs and practices regarding matter of health and of disease and its treatment seem to have corresponded very closely to those of other people in the early stages of development toward civilization when misfortune and disease came upon them they looked to the gods for relief and appealed to them through the medium of their priest The scanty and fragmentary data concerning their religious faith and cultic usage are scattered over western Europe for the Celts left no record except brief inscriptions (found mainly in the region of ancient Gaul and the Rhemish province and in lesser number in Britain) and tradition mythical tale and folklore (especially in Ireland and Wales) Nevertheless this material presents a general uniformity which is indicative of a tenacious retention of the essential of

¹ Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe*, pp 201-211 Schröder *Atlas de géographie historique*, M p 11

their native faith but it is lacking in detail that although generously supplemented by the comment of contemporaneous classical writers it is barely sufficient to reconstruct even an approximately satisfactory outline of their religion and religious custom. To add to the difficulties this system was undermined in Gaul and Britain by the advent of the Romans and its purity was invaded by the cults of foreign gods from Rome and the Emperor Augustus forbade Roman citizens to attend Druid ceremonies (Suetonius *Vita Claudii*, 25). Roman ritual was introduced, shrines and temples were erected on Roman model and the Celtic deities were assimilated with Roman divinities and received Roman names. Thereafter the native Celtic religion bore the strong impress of Roman influence and domination while in Ireland the victory of Christianity obscured the figures of the ancient gods.

The Celtic religion

Celtic religion centered about the great activities of nature especially around the deities of fertility and growth and over all nature activities presided superhuman beings differing in character rank power and function. With the development of religious conception the vague primitive *numina* of the more important aspects of nature tended to become definite as gods and goddesses and received names. The spirit of vegetation notably those of corn and general agriculture were apparently evolved very early and were regarded as female until the men the hunter and warrior joined the women in tilling the soil. Natural objects, such as trees and forests wells and springs streams and rivers mountains

H. d'Arbois de Jubinville, *Précis des auteurs à consulter sur l'histoire des Celtes*, Paris 1902

M. McCulloch, *Celtic Mythology*, pp. 17-20, 206-213

tain and sky sun and moon had indwelling deities who presided over them and there were civilization divinities of the art and craft of music of commerce and of war There were also spirits of the earth and of the other world and the elements occurring singly or in groups were beneficent maleficent or of mixed character like human beings⁴ They were believed to have magic skill and to live in forest or in cave and other recesses of the earth whence they emerged to manifest themselves preferably at night There were many of these groups such as the benignant Lugoves the malignant Du 11 (Augustine *de Civitate Dei*, xv 29) the Castæci and Castæcæ the Icotu or Icotæ the Di Silvani and De Silvanæ the Di Cæle and the Nervini or Nervinæ From the divinities of fertility and growth the greater seasonal gods of agriculture were evolved and from the cults of vegetation deities the women developed the worship of the nature goddesses of fertile Mother Earth, of the Matre and the Matronæ the Proximæ and the Iunone Mothers or Kinswomen who were the protecting divinities of various localities

Celtic gods

Most of the Celtic deities were local in name although like many others in character and function Each tribe group and town had its own tutelary divinity whose rôle while local was similar to those of other groups or places having different or kindred names Wells and springs were divine and gave their gifts of fertility and healing to the people each well having its presiding genius a spirit or nymph who protected it or who was associated with the deity of the fountain These divinities of thermal or mineral springs with medicinal qualities were always healing deities thus a peopled appearing as a local survival

⁴ E. Anwyl "Demon and Spirit (Celtic), in *ERE* iv 573-74

of a general ancient belief and in later time the principal therapeutic god shared their functions with Apollo Æculapius and the nymph of the forest and water

The pantheon

The Celtic pantheon appears to have been very large and the names of about two hundred and eighty deities have survived in inscription although many of these are duplications of the same divinity under different names in various places. Some of them occur but once and nothing more is known concerning them while doubtless many names have entirely disappeared. Caesar (*de Bello Gallico*, vi 17-18) recognising among the Celtic gods certain deities with functions and characters similar to those of Roman divinities named six of them: Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, Minerva, and Dis Pater, while the deities Grannos, Belenus, and others were not only assimilated to Roman gods but their names were compounded in inscription such identification and surname indicating their character and function. Apollo Grannos and Apollo Belenus, who like Apollo dispensed light, warmth, and healing, Caesar (*ib.*, vi 17) termed the Celtic Apollo the divinity of healing (*Apollinem morbo depellere*) and this may explain the great frequency of his name in these equations of the therapeutic deities.

Religiosity

Classical writers describe the Celtic as a religious people who never forgot or transgressed the laws of their gods but who were diligent in the observance of all religious rites and ceremonies and who referred all matters pertaining to religion to their priests.

R n l L s R l g o d l G e v t christ is e, pp 391 40
 Dottin M po r serv r 'étud d ' t q t' ce t q , 2d ed
 pp 304 309

Druidism

Although it has been asserted⁷ that Druidism was the common religion of the aboriginal inhabitants from the Baltic to Gibraltar it would seem that there is little ground for the belief that the Druids were pre Celtic and were adopted by the Celt but rather that they were a native priesthood common to both branches of the Celtic people and that they had grown up side by side with the growth of the native religion so that the Celtic religion in effect was Druidism The Druid a guild with an elective chief were the priest and instructor of the people and those who disobeyed them were forbidden the privilege of the sacrifice They are declared to have tamed the people as wild animals are tamed (Diodoro Siculo V xxxi 5) and with a firm and jealous grasp they held within their own class all matters pertaining to religion regulating all its ceremonies and determining the myth concerning the gods Acting as arbiters and judges in other matters than religion they acquired enormous political power so that Caesar (*op cit*, vi 13 14) called them noble learned priestly class and the chief expounder and guardian of the law while Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, xxx 4) refers to them as wizard and physician (Druid et hoc genus tum medicorumque) although the latter are supposed to have formed a special subdivision They were also bard magician and soothsayer who practiced all kinds of divination and made prophecies¹

⁷ Rhy, *Celtic Britain*, 2d ed. p. 72

J. A. MacCulloch, *Druid*, in *ERE* v 83 4 cf *id*, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, p. 301

M. C.ulloch, in *ERE* v 85 and *id*, *Religion*, p. 300

¹ G. Dottin, *Divination (Celtic)*, in *ERE* iv 787 788

Religious ceremonies

Of the ceremonies and practices of the native religion very little is known except that they were liberally mingled with magic, many appear to have been secret or to have had a mystic significance attributed to them and the religious rites were held in the open in a forest or sacred grove or in a *nemeton*, an enclosure or consecrated place as when Diodoros (II 47) speaks of a circular temple on the Island of the Hyperborean (*ie Celt*)¹¹ The gods were invoked by prayers sacrifice incantations and magic with the chanting of mystic verses and in the exercise of these rites priests or later called Druids were employed especially in divination and in prophecy The Druids sacrificed animal and even human beings in Gaul more particularly and classical writers shocked by the cruelties practiced in the name of religion describe the horrors of the Druidic rites in the forest (Strabo IV iv 5 p 198 C Lucan *Pharsalia*, III 399 425 Dion Cassio lxi 7) Because of their magic art Tiberius (Pliny *loc cit*) and Claudius (Suetonius, *loc cit*) making an exception to the otherwise universal toleration of the Romans issued edicts intended to abolish the Druidic religion with its human sacrifice and cruelties These prohibitions in the interest of humanity were ostensibly based on the political ground that the Druid had resisted the majesty of Rome and were not aimed directly at their religion but it would seem that they did little more than abolish human sacrifice which thereafter was celebrated symbolically by letting of harmless blood (Pomponius Mela III 18) while the Druids retired farther into the forests to perform their rites (Lucan *op cit*, I 450 454) where they lingered on until paganism finally disappeared

¹¹ Cf. Dottin *Mue*, pp 22 23

Disease and healing

The Celts regarded disease with terror and since it was believed to be a visitation from the gods or the work of some maleficent being of the other world it came within the purview of religion so that the people appealed to their divinities for relief through the priest a mediator and a representatives of the deities the treatment consisting of prayer with sacrifices incantation magic and the administration of various herbs It has been asserted¹ that temple sleep for healing was known and practiced in Gaul but there is no evidence that it was used in the cults of the native deities and since the practice of Æsculapius¹ and Serapis¹⁴ were well known in Gaul it is entirely probable that incubation was used in the rituals there as it was in Rome The adoration of Mithra popular among the Roman soldier found its way to the Danube and Upper Rhone valley¹ and this cult also exercised healing functions Remains of these worship have occasionally been found in the region of ancient Gaul and Britain

Mythic healing tales

Numerous mythic tale and tradition of the ancient Celtic deities have been handed down with the folklore especially in Britain Many herbs were used with the theurgic medicine of the Celt and whatever grew on tree was regarded as coming from heaven Among the herbs the mistletoe held the first rank whence the Druid had great veneration for it and for the oak on which it grew It was a gift direct from the Celtic Zeus it was the sacred bough of the Druids being known as the all

¹ Hopf *Die Heilgotter und Heilpflanzen des Altertums*, pp 52 54

¹ Toutain, *Les Cultes païens de l'époque romaine*, 1 380 381

¹⁴ Renel *op cit*, pp 333 334

¹ Cuont *The Mythology of Mithra*, pp 69 70 79

healer and in Wales as the tree of pure gold (Pliny *op cit*, xvi 95) and at the New Year's festival with mytic ceremonies and the sacrifice of white oxen it was gathered by a priest clad in white using a golden sickle and collecting it in a white cloth. With its life-giving powers it was believed to be a cure for sterility in man and beast, a protection against poison and a cure for epilepsy. Pliny (*ib*, xxiv 62) mentions another plant the *selago*, identified with the yew tree, a piece of juniper which was burned and used for eye troubles while the *samolus* was gathered to the accompaniment of magic ceremonies to cure disease of cattle and swine (*ib*, xxiv 63).

The 'cauldron of renovation'

The myth of the cauldron of renovation is prominently associated with the Irish god of healing Diancecht and figures in some of the Welsh Mabinogion tales. The cauldron had been brought out of the lake in Ireland and given to Bren, son of Llyr while in the Welsh tale it was represented as a talisman of healing in the story of Branwen daughter of Llyr. The Irish kindled a fire under the cauldron of renovation and they cast the dead bodies into the cauldron until it was full and the next day they came forth fighting men as good as before except that they were not able to speak.¹ It was the equivalent of the cauldron of Dagda of Irish legend and one of the treasures of the Tuatha Dé Danann and it also represented the cauldron of sciences from which Gwion received three drops.² Its fire was fed by nine maidens and it was called undry because it was never empty.

¹ *Mabinogion*, ed. A. Nutt p. 39.

² T. B. Ryan 'Diancecht and Medwyn (Celtic)' in *ERE* iv 748 see also M. MacCulloch, *op cit*, pp. 381-383 and *id*, *Mythology*, pp. 95-9, 120, 192, 203.

PART II THE HEALING DEITIES

Belenus	Díancecht	Míach or Mídach
Borvo or Bormo	Goibniu	Mogouno or
Brigit Brigantia	Granno	Mogon
or Brigindo	Lug	Sirona
Damona	Mabon or M	Sul
	pono	

Supplementary List Deities named in various inscriptions as being connected with healing of whom little or nothing more is known

Abnoba	Ivao or	Ollototæ
Addus	Ivavu	Segeta
Arduinna	Laha	Sequana
Griselcæ	Lelhunnu	Sinquatî
Nymph	Lenu	Virotutî
Iliso	Luxoviu	

BELENUS

THE deity whose name probably means the healing one¹ seems primarily to have been a solar divinity whence he was frequently equated with Apollo. His cult centered mainly in Aquileia (*CIL* v 732 755 8212 8250) and the neighboring region (*ib* 1829 1866 2143 2146 iii 4774) but no traces of it are found in Gaul except for two somewhat dubious allusions by Ansonius (*Professores*, v 7 xi 24) though it is possible that the god was identical with the Welsh Beli¹. He apparently had a feminine counterpart in Belisama the most healing one who was identified with Minerva¹ and after whom

¹ Stoke, *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*, p 164

¹ McCulloch, *Religion*, pp 112 113

⁰ Pader, *Vergleichende Germanistik der keltischen Sprachen*, ii 122

¹ H. Steuding in Rocher, i, 757. See in general on these two deities H. d'Arbois de Jubinville, *Les Dieux gaulois*. B. L. N. la d'gulois B. L. Ham, i, *RA*, 1873, xxv 197 206

the Mersey was called (Ptolemaios, II iii 2) He was especially honored at the springs of Aquileia and was often addressed as Fons Belenus (*CIL* v 754 755 8250) the spring at Bordeaux and Nîmes were dedicated to him and he had rich temples near the warm spring of Toulouze and Antun over which he presided The plant *bellinuntia* or *bellinuntia*, henbane (Dioscorides iv 69 pseudo Apuleius *de Herbis*, 4) probably received its name from him

BORVO OR BORMO

THE divinity called Borvo or Bormo in Central France Bormanu in Provence and Bormanicu in Portugal was a therapeutic deity who presided over healing spring and health resorts At Bourbonne les Bains (Haute Marne) an inscription was found dedicated Deo Apollini Borvoni et Damonæ and he (or his feminine counterpart Bormonia) was associated with the same goddess also at Bourbon Lancy (Saône et Loire) while at Aix en Diois (Drôme) he appears together with Bormana who is again mentioned at Lagnieu (Ain) He had a shrine at Borma on the Rhine and at the bath of Bormio in the extreme north of Italy two inscriptions in honor of Bormanicus have been discovered at the healing spring near Oporto and Bormanu is mentioned at Aix en Provence Other places recalling one or the other of these divinities are Bormanni in Gallia Narbonensis Bourbon l'Archambault (Allier) Bourboule (Puy de Dôme) Bourbriac (Côte du Nord) and Bormida (Montferrat) * The names of these deities are connected with Irish *verbaum*, I boil Welsh *berw*, boiling Latin

Hopf *op cit* pp 51

Dottin *L L gues* *os*, pp 232 244

* *R n l op cit*, pp 17 179 309 Stüding 1 Roemer 1, 814 815

ferveo, I boil ferment and hence were peculiarly appropriate to their function

BRIGIT BRIGANTIA OR BRIGINDO

ACCORDING to Irish myth one of the Brigit triad was a goddess of healing the other two being respectively a poetess and seeress and the patroness of smiths. She had a female priesthood and men are said to have been excluded from her cult. In the hymn *Brigit be bithmarth* he is addressed as golden sparkling flame and is invoked to break before us the battles of every plague. She may have been the goddess identified by Cæsar (*op cit*, vi 17) with Minerva as giving the beginnings of craft and arts and he appears in Gaul as Brigindo (*CIL* xiii 2638) and as Brigantia in Britain, where he was the eponymous deity of the Brigantes.⁷ Originally she seems to have been a divinity of fire and of fertility and her name means the high one.

DAMONA

THIS goddess is associated with the therapeutic deity Borvo in inscriptions found at Bourbonne les Bains (Haute Marne) and Bourbon Lancy (Saône et Loire) but he was in reality an animal divinity her name being connected with Irish *dam* ox Welsh *dafad*, sheep etc.

⁷ Dottin *op cit*, p 235. Walde *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen Sprachen*, p 286.

Stokes and Strahan *Thesaurus Ptolemaei*, ii 325.

⁷ Stending in Roeder, i 819, McCulloch *op cit*, pp 8 70.

Peder sen *op cit*, i 100.

Stending in Roeder i, 946.

McCulloch *op cit*, pp 43 215.

DIANCECHT

DÍANCECHT (? Swift Power) the Irish god of healing *par excellence*, was of the number of the Tuatha Dé Danann and was the son of Dagda the father of another therapeutic deity, Miach and grandfather of Lug who also possessed similar power. His surgical prowess is particularly prominent in the Middle Irish account of the second battle of Moytura (*Cath Marge Turedh*).¹ In this combat the hand of Nuada being tricked off Díancecht, with the aid of the smith Credne replaced it with a hand of silver which was capable of every motion possessed by a hand of flesh, but Miach after thrice three day and night returned to Nuada his natural hand whence Díancecht leech his son and confused the healing herbs which grew from the corpse. Díancecht is the leech of the Tuatha Dé Danann and in the conflict says: Every man who shall be wounded there unless his head be cut off or the membrane of his brain or his spinal (?) marrow be evered I will make quite whole in the battle on the morrow. In fact the slain and mortally wounded were cast into healing well over which Díancecht his son Miach and Octríuil and his daughter Airmed and incantation and all were returned to full vigor. In a St Gall manuscript of the eighth or ninth century we read: I put my trust in the alve which Díancecht left with his family that whole may be that whereon it goes.

GOIBNIU

GOIBNIU was an Irish divinity of smith (cf Irish *gobas*, smith) whose ale preserved the gods from old age disease and death.

¹ §§ 11 33 35, 64 9 99 123 d and tr W Stok 'Th Seco d B tll of Moytura i RC, 1891 ii, 5 111

Stok and Str ch n op ct, ii, 24

McCulloch *Mythology*, pp 51 54

GRANNOS

GRANNOS was a healing deity of great renown whose cult seems to have been especially important among the Celts along the upper Danube where he was equated with Apollo (*CIL* III 5870 5871 5874 5876 5881) and was associated with Hygieia with the Nymphs and with Sirona (*ib*, 5861 5873 5888). He again appears together with Sirona in an inscription from Rome (*ib*, VI 36) and epigraphs to him have been found at Musselburgh in Scotland (*ib*, VII 1082) and even in Vermanland in Sweden while it is possible that certain inscriptions mentioning Sirona and Apollo also that from Graux in the Vosges may really refer to her and Granno.⁷ He was likewise associated with the local goddesses Avantia and Vesunna who have given their name to Avenche (Switzerland) and Vesona while he had a statue in the temple of the Seine goddess Sequana. Aix la Chapelle was known as Aqu Granni and the stream receiving the water from Plombière in the Vosges is called Eaux Graunne.

The name of Granno is usually connected with Irish *grían* sun, *gor*, warmth⁷ and he and Sirona possibly represent the ever young sun god and the old goddess who may be likened to Apollo and his mother Leto of Greek mythology. Apollo Granno was associated with Æculapius and Serapis by Caracalla who appealed to them in a second illness when other gods had failed him (Dion Cassius lxxvii 15).⁸

⁷ I Undt 'In connection with the return of the Scandinavians' in *BIA*, 1883 p. 237 also M. Ihm in Pauly *Wiowa* VII 1826. Studying and W. Drexler in *Roche* I 173.

Renloup, p. 310.

MacCulloch *Religion*, p. 43.

⁷ Stoke, *Sprachschatz*, p. 114.

Barn in *ERE* IV 747.

Ihm in Pauly *Wiowa* VII 1825.

The memory of Granno is still preserved in the Auvergne at the festival of the Brands when on the first Sunday in Lent fires are lighted in every village, and the ceremony of Grannamias takes place after a dance. A torch of straw called Grannomio is lighted and carried round the orchards and in the character of a sun god the deity is invoked in song as Granno my friend my father my mother ' these processions being followed by feasting. The torches are carried in the fields and gardens wherever there are fruit trees and the ceremonial is intended to ensure fertility and the warmth for the ripening of the fruit.⁴

LUG

Lug, an ancient and important member of the Tuatha Dé Danann, seems to have been in origin a civilization hero¹ concerning whom many tales are told in Middle Irish literature. In the story of the second battle of Moytura⁴ he is described as the grandson of Diancecht and comes to the Tuatha Dé as they feast at Tara offering his service in many capacities including that of physician only to be told in this connection that we have for a leech Diancecht. He finally wins entrance however as being *samlánach* (killed in many arts together) an epithet which suggests his identification with the Gaulish god described under the name of Mercury as *inter alia*, the inventor of all arts (Cæsar *op. cit.*, vi 17). Although no Gallic inscription to him has yet been found and though it is by no means clear that the Lugovos mentioned in an inscription from Avenches in Switzerland and in another from Osma in Spain are to be considered as plural form of Lug (it is not even certain whether

Born loc. cit.

⁴¹ McCulloch, 'Celt', 1 *ERE* III 285-286

§§ 55 ff

these are masculine or feminine) * the widespread character of his cult is shown by the place names Lugudunum (fortress of Lug Lyons St Bertrand de Comminge [Gers] Leyden) Luguwallum (rampart of Lug Carlisle) and Louth (i.e., Lug magh plain of Lug) The meaning of the name is uncertain but it may be connected with Gallic *lugos* 'crow' ** or more probably with Irish *lug*, 'lynx' * or it may signify 'the bright one' *

MABON OR MAPONOS

THE Welsh deity Mabon ('Youth') one with the Gaulish Maponos appears among the figures of the Arthurian cycle⁴⁷ and is mentioned under his Gallic name in inscriptions from Hexham Ribchester and Armthwaite in England * A similitude to Apollo he was perhaps a divinity of healing springs * and from his name was probably the same as the *bonus puer* associated with Apollo in Dacian inscriptions (*CIL* III 1133 1138)

MIACH OR MIDACH

ACCORDING to the story of the second battle of Moytura ¹ Miach was a son of Diancecht and one of the four who sang charms over the healing well which brought back to life those who had fallen in the fray After thrice seventy-two hours, he restored the hand of Nuada which had been

* Ihnd Drexler in *Roheir*, II, 2153 2154

** Renel *op cit*, p 206 f *Pdr op cit*, I

* Dottin *op cit*, p 268

* Pdersen *op cit*, I, 98 (for much less plausibility see Stok *op cit*, p 257)

⁴⁷ MacCulloch, *Mythology*, pp 18 18

* R Peter in *Roheir*, II 332

* MacCulloch *Revue*, p 123

* Breen *loc cit*

¹ §§ 33 5 123

severed in combat and for which Díancecht had substituted a silver hand but in anger his father struck him on the head with a sword. The first three blows Miach healed since they reached respectively only to the flesh, the bone and the membrane of the brain but the fourth stroke cutting the brain proved mortal. After his burial herbs three hundred and sixty-five according to the number of his joints and new grass grew through the grave and the herbs were gathered by his sister Airmed only to be disappointed and confused by Díancecht that no one knew their proper cure unless the [Holy] Spirit should teach them afterward. The late character of the deity is shown by his name which is borrowed from Latin *medicus* physician.

MOGOUNOS OR MOGONS

Mogounos is once mentioned as an epithet of Apollo Grannos in an inscription from Horburg (Haut Rhin *CIR*, 1915). He is doubtless connected with the British deity Mogon (*CIL* vii 958-996) and with the Gaulish goddess Mogontia who gave her name to Mogontiacum, the modern Metz. The name probably means the increaser and may have denoted originally a solar divinity.⁴

SIRONA

SIRONA, whose name is also written Dirona, is probably connected with the Welsh *seren* star. It sometimes is associated on Gaulish inscriptions with Apollo Granno (e.g. *CIL* iii 5588, xiii 4129) or simply with Apollo (*ib.*, xiii 4661, 5424, 6272, 6458) and seems to

² Peder *in op cit*, i 23

³ Ihm *in Ro ch r* ii 3083-3084

⁴ Stokes *op cit*, p 17. McCulloch, *op cit*, p 27

Peder *in op cit*, i 78-532

have been a healing deity though there is no certain evidence to support this hypothesis

SUL

THIS goddess presided over the healing spring of Aquæ Sulis the modern Bath and Solinus (xxii 10) states that a perpetual fire burned in her temple. She was identified with Minerva (*CIL* vii 42 43) and inscriptions were dedicated to her *pro salute et incolumitate* (ib., 40 41).⁷ Her name seems to be cognate with Irish *súl*, eye and Welsh *heol* sun and she perhaps had Gaulish counterpart in the Sulevi beneficent and protecting mother or matron.

The Supplementary List

ABNOA The divinity of the Black Forest who was identified with Diana is mentioned as a goddess of child birth (*CIL* xiii 5334 6283)

ADDU The seem to have been the name of a god presumably Gaulish to whom an inscription from Altrippe was dedicated by a man for the health of himself and his (Steuding in Roscher i 67)

ARDUINNA Identified with Diana she was the deity of the Ardenne Forest and is mentioned as a goddess of child birth (*CIL* vi 46)

GRIS LICÆ NYMPHÆ The were goddesses of the thermal spring of Gréoulx (Basse Alpe) and were probably regarded as therapeutic divinities (Drexler in Roscher i 1741)

LIXO The god is mentioned in three short inscriptions

Ihm in Roscher iv 952 57

⁷ Ih in Roscher iv 1591 1592

Dottin *op cit*, p 289

Ih in Roscher iv 1592 1600

found at Bagnères de Luchon (Haute Pyrénées) and was probably the deity of the thermal springs at that place (Ihm in Roscher II 119) The word may possibly be cognate with Welsh *uho*, to ferment

IVAOS OR IVAVUS This divinity is named on a bronze key found covered at Evaux (Creuse) and was apparently the deity of the local spring (Ihm in Roscher II 766) The appellation seems to be cognate with Irish *eo*, good

LAHA Some inscriptions in honor of this goddess have been found near Martre Tolosanes (Haute Garonne) and once one of them was dedicated 'pro salutæ [sic] dominorum' she may possibly though by no means certainly have been a deity of health (Ihm in Roscher II 1799 1800)

LELHUNNUS On inscriptions from Aire sur l'Adour (Landes) Mars receives this epithet in dedications for the health of himself and his etc (Ihm in Roscher II 1937)

LENUS Inscription found at Trèves and in Luxembourg give this epithet to Mars and on the basis of bilingual text from the lower Moselle the term evidently indicated a therapeutic divinity (Ihm in Roscher II 1942 1943)

LUXOVIVUS He was the deity of the thermal spring of Luxeuil les Bains (Haute Saône) (Ihm in Roscher II 2163)

OLLOTOTÆ This epithet is given to the 'Mothers' in an inscription from Winchester in England dedicated pro salute sua et suorum (Ihm in Roscher III 833 834) The name means pertaining to all the people

SEGETA This goddess presided over healing spring at Aquæ Segetæ near Feurs (Loire) (Ihm in Roscher IV 599)

SEQUANA The Seine goddess exercised healing function at the river source where numerous ex voto in

her honor have been discovered while one inscription (*CIL* XIII 2862) expressly recorded a given pro [al]ute ex voto ' (Ihm in Roscher IV 711)

SINQUATIS This deity whose name is given to Silvanu as an epithet received a votive statue found at Géro mont near Géroville (Belgium) pro salute (*CIL* XIII 3968) (Ihm in Roscher IV 949)

VIROTUTIS An altar dedicated Apollini Virotuti has been found near Annecy (Haute Savoie) (*CIL* XII 2525) and the name is explained (Dottin *La Langue*, p 95) a healer of men



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